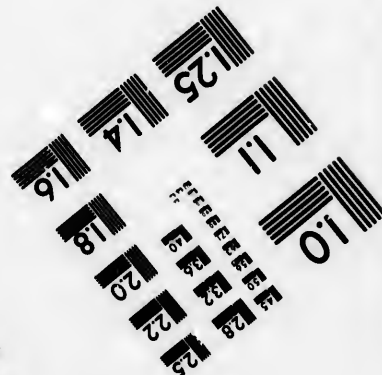
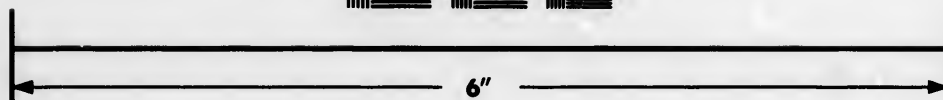
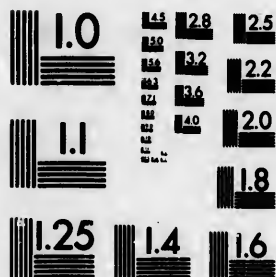


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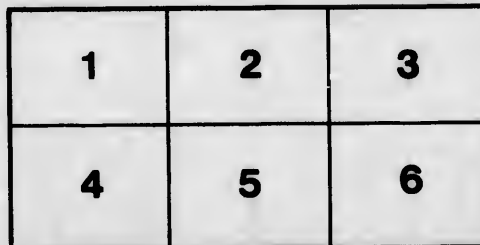
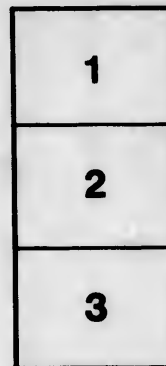
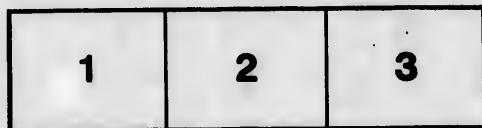
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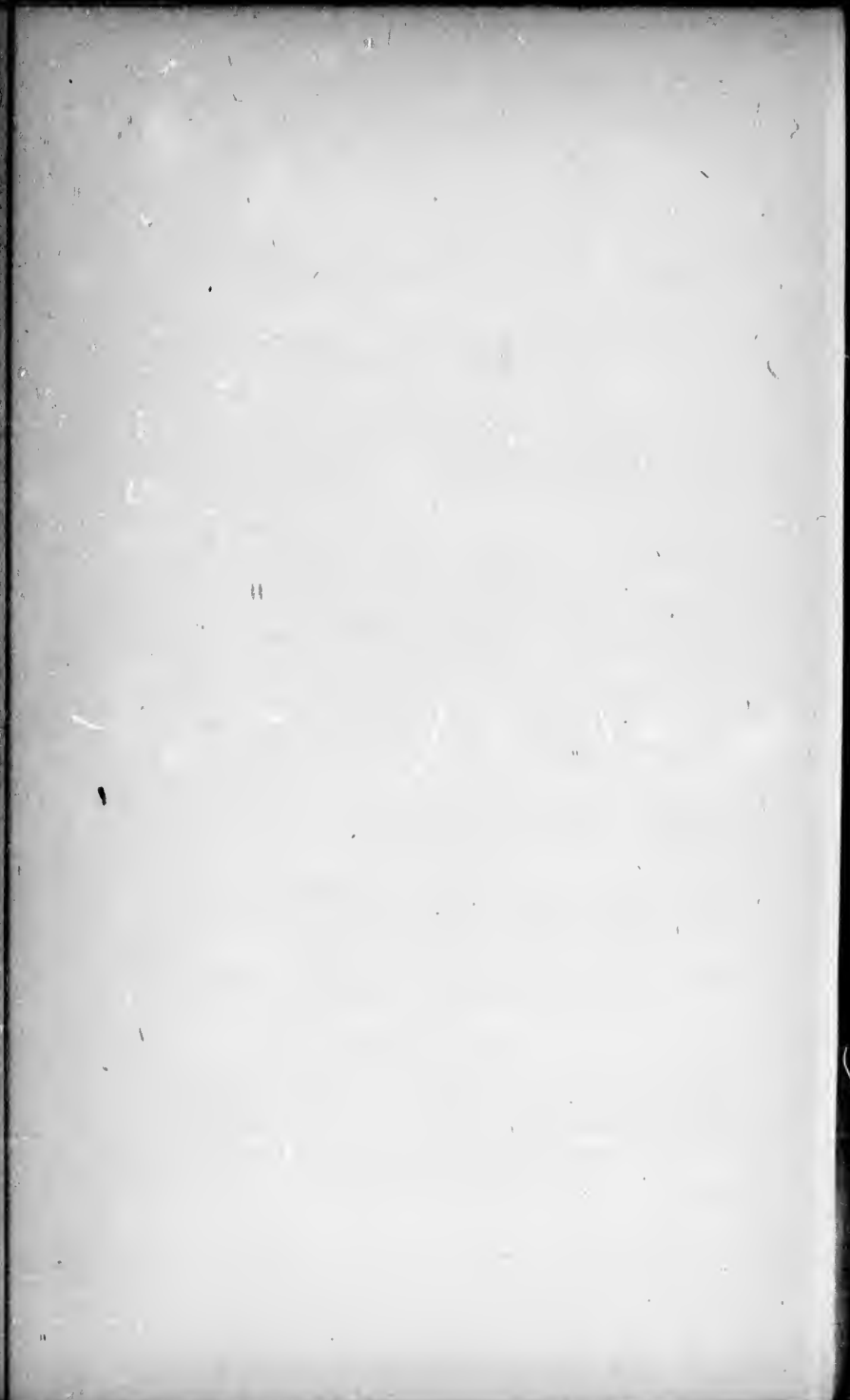
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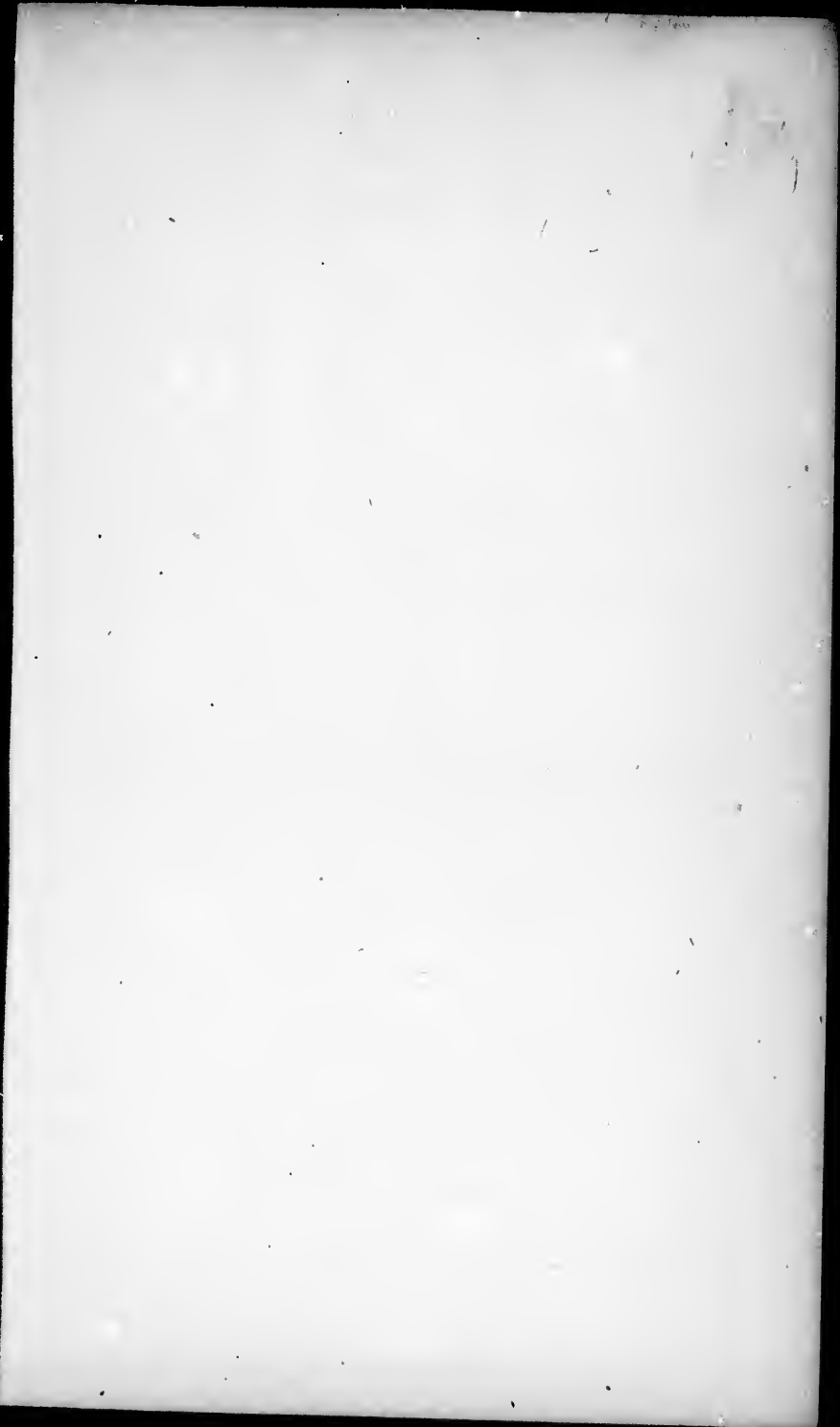
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OF THE BRITISH ISLES, AND OF AMERICA.

CHANCE cast the subject of the following pages in my way;—it was taken up as a literary amusement, without a thought of its attaining to a conclusion so satisfactory as to induce its publication. But with the gradual development of the subject, a proportionate increase in the estimate of its importance arose; until, gaining strength, that which originated in a mere *passe-temps*, ripened into a sober and sustained inquiry. Time alone will show, whether the result will receive the favorable stamp of public opinion; or, whether it will be consigned to that oblivion into which the laboured productions, on the same subject, of many abler pens and sounder judgments, have been finally engulfed.

In addition to a frank avowal of a general want of qualification for the task, and in deprecation of that species of criticism which delights in displaying its own erudition, and keeping up an "arrowy shower" of wit, at faults of style, and other minor defects, while it leaves the substantial merits of an author's views and opinions untouched, a few facts may be mentioned, that may, in some degree, excuse the omission of the notice of many books, which every writer on the subject must be presumed to have, at least, *looked into*; and will, at the same time, extenuate the apparent neglect of a reference to works, which might be supposed to have such a bearing on the subject as would tend to its clearer elucidation.

In the first place then, my pen, as an author, has hitherto been untried; and it is, therefore, with no slight diffidence that I submit this, its first attempt, to the well-exercised acumen of the literary public. In the next place, my native city and home, from which I write, possesses no public library; and the few private libraries to which I have had access, were too limited to have been of material use. Lastly, I cannot, like the "veteran author" of *Junius Elucidated*, boast of having "written considerably more than one hundred letters, and examined one hundred literary works, in the hopes of attaining that species of evidence which could neither be controverted nor

doubted,"¹—for, as an unknown colonist, I could not stimulate my presumption to address letters of inquiry to the great and the learned in England, (where alone the information could be obtained,) with any expectation of receiving an answer; and, as already intimated, such literary works were beyond my reach. I cannot, therefore, here follow the example of Mr. Britton, and fill the better part of a page with the names of field-m Marshals, primates, and peers,—baronets, knights, and M. P.'s,—soldiers, divines, and esquires, to whom expressions of gratitude are due "for obliging and interesting letters in answer to my inquiries;"—nor can I, like him, indicate the great depth of authorship into which my researches have extended.

It may be asked—*then why, with all these disqualifications, write at all?*—the answer is—the learned and the critical having endeavoured, through four fifths of a century, to combat and overcome the mystery of Junius, and failed, the "babes and sucklings" of literature may now be permitted to run a tilt at it;—and who knows, but that the honour denied to the wisdom of the former, may yet be yielded to the foolishness of one of the latter? It rests with THE LITERARY PUBLIC OF THE BRITISH ISLES, AND OF AMERICA, to whom the question more particularly belongs, and

¹ P. xxiv.

to whom these pages are respectfully dedicated, to decide, whether that one shall be

Their humble servant,

FREDERICK GRIFFIN.

Montreal, St. Gabriel Street, June, 1852.

POSTSCRIPT. — At the above date, the following essay was made ready for the printer:— circumstances, however, induced me to withhold it for a time, and before that time attained its end, an opportunity of visiting the British metropolis presented itself to me. In the course of the visit I discovered evidence in favor of my theory, of so decisive a character, as, at the first blush, to induce the re-writing of the essay. But further reflection told me, that more credit would be attachable to the discovery of the great *nomini umbra*, if it were known to have been made, not only in despite of the disadvantages alluded to in the foregoing preface and dedication, but while the existence of this further evidence was not even suspected. In justice to myself, therefore, I now submit my essay as it was originally prepared; and add to it, with a few prefatory remarks, the newly discovered evidence.

F. G.

Montreal, September, 1853.

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JUNIUS DISCOVERED.

“YOU SHALL KNOW ME BY MY WORKS.”

Junius to Woodfall.

TIME having demonstrated the utter improbability of our ever obtaining positive or direct proof of the identity of the writer of the celebrated LETTERS OF JUNIUS, we must, of necessity, either abandon the attempt to discover him, or establish the fact of his identity by means of circumstantial or presumptive evidence; and it is manifest, that the more cumulative the latter description of evidence can be made, the nearer it will approach to the former.

As our knowledge of Junius is restricted to the public letters first published, in a collected form, under his own authority, in 1772, and to the collection of his private letters to H. S. Woodfall and Mr. Wilkes, and the *Miscellaneous Letters*, published in 1812, and again in 1814, by Woodfall's son—the two former undoubtedly genuine, and the generality of the

latter presumed to be so, we must glean from them, alone, WHAT Junius was, in order, with that knowledge, to form a basis upon which to establish who he was. Fortunately for us, a great portion of the first part of the labour has been so ably performed by Dr. Mason Good, in his preliminary essay to G. Woodfall's edition, that we cannot do better than avail ourselves of his clear and useful summary, the correctness of the deductions in which, has now, with few exceptions, been very generally acquiesced in, through a period of nearly forty years. And even the more important of the exceptions alluded to will, on examination, be found to be less based on established premises, and clear reasoning therefrom, than on a desire of supporting some pet theory. On these controverted points, we shall state our opinion in simple propositions, merely adding thereto, with an occasional remark, such extracts from the letters as, in our view, will bear them out; and to the references to the pages of G. Woodfall's edition of 1814, we shall add the numbers and dates of the letters, whereby the references may, with little trouble, be found in any other edition.

“From the observations contained in this essay,” says Dr. Mason Good, “it should seem to follow unquestionably, that the author of the Letters of JUNIUS was an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the lan-

guage, the laws, the constitution and history of his native country:—that he was a man of easy if not of affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account: that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and intrusted with all its secrets: that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world: that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the Public Advertiser; that in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable, and impetuous; subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities; but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an avowed member of the established church; and, though acquainted with English judicature, not

a lawyer by profession. What other characteristics he may have possessed, we know not; but these are sufficient; and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly, is in vain brought forward as the author of the Letters of JUNIUS."¹ We may apply to Junius the language he used in reference to Lord Mansfield;— "There never existed a man but himself, who answered to so complicated a description."²

The age of Junius :— At the commencement of his career, in that character, he had attained, if he had not already passed, the prime of life. "It seems absurd to suppose," says Dr. Good, "that Junius could be much less than fifty; or that he affected an age that he had not actually attained;"³— and Dr. Good was right. Here are the proofs :—

Misc. Letter, XXXIII, August 19, 1768.— "These are the times when *every ignorant boy* thinks himself fit to be a minister."⁴ This is not the language of a young man, but that of one who has been, for some years, used to the conviction, that he, himself, is no longer young;— a conviction which few men— nay, which no man will admit before he finds himself *on the wrong side* of five and forty. Every regiment in the service can furnish an officer, who— hav-

¹ Prel. Essay, vol. i. 97, et seq.

³ Vol. i. 46.

² Letter lix., vol. ii. 355.

⁴ Vol. iii. 97.

ing passed that Rubicon of years, and being too poor to purchase *a step* — uses similar language half-a-dozen times in the course of a year, on learning that some junior, in years as well as in rank, has been promoted over his head *by purchase*. At the date of the quoted letter, the Duke of Grafton was first lord of the treasury, and about thirty-three years of age; and Lord North, chancellor of the Exchequer, — the Earl of Shelburne, one of the principal secretaries of State, — and the Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of State for the colonies, were — respectively, thirty-six, thirty-two, and fifty.¹

Of the like import are the following four extracts, in reference to the Duke of Grafton: —

Misc. Letter XXI, April 23, 1768, — His Grace is spoken of, as one “who, though green in years, is ripe in devices.”²

Misc. Letter XLVIII, October 19, 1768. — “When the Duke of Grafton first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and

¹ Sir Philip Francis was only twenty-eight. At the age of forty-six, the Marquis of Granby was made commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's forces in Great Britain; — “It was cruel,” wrote the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, then aged seventy-two, “to put *such a boy* as Lord Granby over the head of old Ligonier.” — *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iii. 33.

² Vol. iii. 44.

the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. . . .
 . . . From that moment, a system of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity or judgment."¹

Letter XI., April 24, 1769,—“With every good-natured allowance for your Grace’s youth and inexperience, there are some things which you cannot but know;”²—and

Letter XXXIX., May 28, 1770,—“Had the young man been a little more practised in the world he would not have been so easily discouraged.”³

In *No. 77, October 21, 1771,* Wilkes, writing to Junius, asks,—“Does JUNIUS wish for any dinner or ball-tickets for the lord mayor’s day, for himself, or friends, or a favorite, or JUNIA? How happy should I be to see my Portia here dance a graceful minuet with JUNIUS BRUTUS! but JUNIUS is inexorable, and I submit:”—to which Junius answers,—“Many thanks for your obliging offer;—but alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner. I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth I see no connection between JUNIUS and a minuet.”⁴ Wilkes (then about 53 years of age) compared himself and his daughter (then

¹ Vol. iii. 167. ² Vol. i. 475. ³ Vol. ii. 136. ⁴ Vol. iii. 325.

in her 22nd year), to the younger Cato (*Uticensis*), and *his* daughter Porcia; and wished to perfect the comparison, by assimilating Junius with Junius Brutus, who had been the lover, and was afterwards the husband of Porcia. Junius acknowledged the compared relationship of the former; but, knowing that his own age approximated more nearly to that of the father, than to that of the daughter, he could see no connection between himself *and a minuet*; — that is, between himself as a youthful Junius Brutus and a lover, dancing a minuet with Miss Wilkes, as a Porcia and his betrothed bride. To reduce the hint of Junius to the terms of common parlance — he was “old enough to be Miss Wilkes’s father;” and, therefore, he might very properly write, as he did, shortly afterward, to Woodfall — “After *long experience of the world*, I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.”¹

Junius was educated at Cambridge. So far as we are aware, this point has only been mooted by Mr. Taylor, the author of *Junius Identified*, and that but slightly.

In *Letter XXV.*, September 25, 1769, addressed to Sir William Draper, who was “a Cambridge man,” Junius says, — “I think you might have learnt *at the university*, that a false conclusion is

¹ Vol. i. 237, No. 44, Nov. 27, 1771.

an error in argument, not a breach of veracity."¹ If Junius had been educated at any other university than that of Cambridge — or had not been educated at any university, he would have said — *at the university of Cambridge*, or — more familiarly — at Cambridge — as he himself did, in his controversy with Horne, (who, likewise, was a Cambridge man,) namely, in Letter LIV., Aug. 13, 1771, — “This may be logic *at Cambridge*, or at the Treasury, etc.”² But in writing to his fellow *Cantab.*, Junius required and therefore used no other expression than — *the university* — to designate the particular university at which both of them had been educated. The close also of *Letter XV.*, July 8, 1769,³ seems to breathe an intimacy with the university of Cambridge, and its heads, strongly savouring of that of an *alumnus* with his *alma mater*.

At the date of that letter, the Duke of Grafton, to whom it is addressed, was Chancellor, and Lord Sandwich high-steward of the university.

Junius was not, by profession, either a soldier, or a lawyer: —

Misc. Letter, XLIV., Sept. 20, 1768. To the Earl of Hillsborough. “I am not a soldier, my Lord, nor will I pretend to determine, what share of honour a general is entitled to for suc-

¹ Vol. ii. 7.

² *Ib.* 315.

³ Vol. i. 512.

cess, who must have borne the whole blame and disgrace, if he had failed. . . . As to the rest, I have heard from military men, that the judgment and capacity, which make resistance useless or impracticable, are rated much higher than even the resolution which overcomes it."¹

Letter XIV., June 22, 1769. "As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, and I confess I have not that opinion of their knowledge or integrity, to think it necessary that they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question."²

Letter No. 70, to Wilkes, Sept. 18, 1771. "Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer. I had as lief be a Scotchman. — It is the encouragement given to disputes about titles, which has supported that iniquitous profession at the expense of the community."³

The Preface. "I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read, than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted

¹ Vol. iii. 154.

² Vol. i. 498.

³ Ib. 312.

of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law."¹

Letter LXIII., Oct. 22, 1771. "You Barristers are too apt to be civil to my Lord Chief Justice, at the expense of your clients."²

Junius was a member of one of the houses of parliament; most probably, of the House of Commons:—

Misc. Letter LXXVII., Nov. 19, 1770. "A few days ago I was in a large public company, where there happened some curious conversation. The Secretary at War³ was pleased to express himself with unusual simplicity and candour. He assured *us* that, after having carefully considered the subject, he did not know a single general officer (out of near an hundred now in the service) who was in any shape qualified to command the army; and for fear *we* should not believe him, repeated and enforced his assertion five several times. You will allow, Sir, that, at the eve of a foreign war, this is pretty comfortable intelligence for the nation, especially as it comes from authority. He gave *us* some consolation, however, by assuring *us* that he and General Hervey would take excellent care of the army, and compared himself (not unhappily) to

¹ *Ib.* 350.

² *Vol. ii.* 389.

³ Lord Viscount Barrington.

an old woman curing an ague with the assistance of Doctor Radcliff."¹

Misc. Letter LXXVIII, Nov. 24, 1770, shows, that "the large public company," mentioned in the preceding extract, was no other than the House of Commons.² "I have never joined in the severe censures which have lately been thrown upon Lord Barrington. The formal declaration he was pleased to make (*for the information of the House of Commons and of this country,*) with respect to the shameful ignorance and incapacity of all the general officers, without exception, may, for aught I know, be extremely well founded; and if it were not so, I do not consider the Viscount as a free agent. . . . When the Secretary at War has informed *the House of Commons*, in the name of his gracious master (for it is not to be suspected that he spoke for himself), that all his general officers were no better than drivellers, it follows of course that the secretary at war, with the adjutant-general's advice, must be the ostensible manager of the army."³

Misc. Letter LXXXVIII, Feb. 13, 1771.— The signature to this letter is remarkable. It is — "A MEMBER of one House of Parliament in mourning for the honour of his king and country."⁴

¹ Vol. iii. 278.

² In a previous letter, vol. iii. 12, the H. of C. is spoken of as "a certain great assembly."

³ Vol. iii. 280 et seq.

⁴ *Ib.* 338.

This indicates that Junius was a member of one of the two Houses. If he had been of the House of Lords, he might, reasonably, be presumed — from the subject of the letter, namely, the seizure of Falkland's island, — to have been one of the nineteen peers, who recorded their dissent in a protest scarcely less remarkable, for strength of indignant expression, than the letter itself. To one of these nineteen peers, the authorship of the letters of Junius has, frequently, been attributed, namely, to the Earl of Chatham; and he is, indeed, the only one of them to whom, with a shadow of probability, the authorship could have been attributed. But, assuming that neither Lord Chatham, nor any other member of the House of Lords, was the author, we must conclude — unless we assume the signature to be wholly fictitious — that Junius belonged to — and not only belonged to, but was — “A MEMBER” of the lower House.

“I READ” — says the letter — “with astonishment, and no small indignation, a letter which is *at last* got into your paper; I mean that from Lord Weymouth to Mr. Harris. The copy which you have procured *I know* to be authentic, having read it amongst the papers laid by administration before both houses.”¹ The letter referred to, was dated Oct. 17, 1770, and laid before

¹ Vol. iii. 324.

Parliament on the following 4th of February, when the House ordered — not that it should be *printed*, but — that it (with the other papers) “do lie upon the table to be perused by the members of this House.”¹ We have not the means of ascertaining on what day it appeared in the *Public Advertiser*; but, from the above extract, we strongly suspect, that it was only a day or two before the date of the letter from which our extract is taken; and that the publication in the *Public Advertiser* was the first appearance of his lordship’s letter in a newspaper. If our suspicion be well founded, then Junius must have read the original “with astonishment, and no small indignation,” either in the House of Lords, or in the House of Commons; and, in all probability, his access to it was obtained as a *member* of the latter House.

Letter LIV., Aug. 13, 1771. “*My* vote will hardly recommend him (Lord Chatham) to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet.”² Would he have spoken of his *vote*, if he had not been a member, either of one of the houses of parliament, or of that portion of the privy council, the members of which, for the time being, are — in contradistinction to the merely honorary members — usually summoned

¹ Journals of the H. of C., vol. xxxiii. 138 et seq.

² Vol. ii. 310. The italicising the word *my* is Junius’s.

to attend the cabinet meetings of that body? An increase of Lord Chatham's pension, if it was to be effected by parliament, must in the first instance have been decided by a *vote* of the cabinet, to recommend it; and next, by the *votes* of the two Houses; — and, a "seat in the cabinet" must also have been decided by a *vote* of the cabinet, and the approval of the King.

If Junius had not been a member of the House of Commons, would he — *could* he have written in the following parliamentary strain of the lower House?

Letter LIX., Oct. 5, 1771. "I will not reject a bill which tends to confine parliamentary privilege within reasonable bounds, though it should be stolen from the House of Cavendish, and introduced by Mr. Onslow. The features of the infant are a proof of the descent, and vindicate the noble birth from the baseness of the adoption. — I willingly accept of a sarcasm from *Colonel Barré*, or a simile from *Mr. Burke*. Even the silent vote of *Mr. Calcraft* is worth reckoning in a division."¹

The two following extracts, particularly the last one, from the letters to Woodfall, may, possibly, have been prompted by the fear of betraying himself, in the event of Woodfall be-

¹ Vol. ii. 357. All the persons named in this extract, were members of the House of Commons.

ing "brought up" by the House of Commons "for breach of privilege."

No. 7, Aug. 16, 1769. "Avoid prosecutions if you can; but, above all things, avoid the Houses of Parliament,—there is no contending with them. At present you are safe, for this House of Commons has lost all dignity, and dare not do any thing."¹ And—

No. 15, Dec. 12, 1769. "As to the House of Commons, there may be more danger. But even there I am fully satisfied the ministry will exert themselves to quash such an inquiry; and on the other side, *you will have friends*:—but they have been so grossly abused on all sides, that they will hardly begin with you."²

To our mind, the tone of at least one half of the avowed letters of Junius conveys the impression, that he was an *active* member of the House of Commons, and perfectly conversant with its rules, its privileges, and its forms; and we are unable to conceive how, in the face of the letters, the contrary has so often been contended for; or how it happened, that it should not have been prominently noticed in the impartial and judicious preliminary essay of Dr. Good. Perhaps the high-flown panegyric of Mr. Burke, may have influenced the minds of many to the belief, that Junius could not possibly have been a mem-

¹ Vol. i. 198.

² Ib. 205.

ber of the legislature, without betraying himself, — and, *therefore*, they concluded, that he was not a member of either House. — “Were he a member of this house,” said Burke, “what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public.”¹

Having thus, with the assistance of Dr. Good, sufficiently deduced, from his own writings, *what* Junius was, we shall proceed to show, that, in every essential particular, his life, writings, and opinions, were coincident, and harmonized with those of the learned antiquarian, THOMAS POWNALL, more generally and familiarly known as GOVERNOR POWNALL.

A short sketch of the Governor’s life, in which, we shall, for collateral purposes, include some notice of his family and connexions, will best prepare the reader for our proofs of his identity with Junius. It is chiefly derived from Burke’s *Dictionary of the landed gentry of England*, — and Nichols’ *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth*

¹ Speech in the H. of C., Nov. 27, 1770. Hansard’s Parl. Hist. xvi. 1154.

Century, — with such corrections and additions as could be gleaned from incidental notices of himself, to be found in his speeches, and in the only two of his works which we have been able to meet with, and from one or two of the periodicals of his day. Like the sources of our information, our sketch must necessarily be meagre; nevertheless, it will be found sufficiently ample for the immediate purpose of these pages, and to indicate to the reader who may be desirous of extending the inquiry, whence more certain and minute information may be obtained.

The family of POWNALL; or — as the name was anciently called — *de Pownall*, or, still more anciently, *Paganell* — appear to have been known in the county of Cheshire (England), as early as in the reign of King Stephen, when Avicia de Romelli, daughter and co-heir of William de Meschines, lord of Copeland, and cousin of Ranulph de Meschines, third earl of Chester, married, for her second husband, William Paganell, lord of Were; and their only daughter and heir, Alice Paganell, married Robert de Gant, uncle and heir of William de Gant, earl of Lincoln. The Paganells, or Pownalls, repeatedly held the high office of *chamberlayne* to the kings,¹ Edward II. and Edward III., as

¹ “And to this day the county palatine of Cheshire hath had a chamberlayne, who supplieth the place of Chancellor, and also Justices, before whom the causes which of their nature should

earls of Chester; on which account, in allusion to their office and their name, they bore for a crest, a lion's paw, holding a golden key. The elder branch of the family, residing at Pownall, became extinct, in the direct line, in 1328; but a younger branch was settled in Morley, within the township of *Pownall-Fee*, when, in 1422, the manor of Bolyne was divided between the Booths and the Traffords, represented by 'Thomas Pownall, whose son, Humphrey, removed to Wilton and Barnton, in the same county. From Humphrey, the second in direct descent, was William Pownall, who died in 1731, leaving issue, —

JOHN POWNALL, born in 1720; of whom — more hereafter; —

THOMAS POWNALL, born in 1722; with whom is our chief business in these pages; —

RICHARD POWNALL, born in 1725; — he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and died on the 26th of April, 1811, highly esteemed for his religious, moral, and social character; — and

—— POWNALL, of whom we can find no other notice, than that he was a captain in the Lincolnshire militia.

We also find, in a report, dated March 5, 1761, from vice-admiral Saunders, commander-

otherwise belong respectively to the King's Bench and Common Pleas, are triable," etc. Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire.

in-chief in the Mediterranean, mention made of a *Captain Pownall*, of His Majesty's frigate the *Favorite*, having taken a French privateer, and sent her into Gibraltar. This gentleman may, possibly, have been another brother.

Thomas Pownall, the second son, was born at Lincoln, and educated at Cambridge. In May, 1745, he was appointed Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations; of which board the Earl of Halifax was then, and until his appointment to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, in March, 1761, continued to be the *first* lord. In August, 1753, Sir Danvers Osborne, Bart., was appointed governor of New York, and he was accompanied to his government by Mr. Pownall, as his secretary. Mr. Pownall at the same time took with him, or shortly after his arrival in America, he received a commission, as lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, to be used in case of the decease of Mr. Belcher, the then governor, whose age and infirmities rendered that event probable at an early day.

In June and July, 1754, Mr. Pownall attended the first Congress of deputies from all the colonies in America, held at Albany, principally for the purpose of persuading and engaging the Indians of the five nations, and their allies, to take up the hatchet, in aid of the British cause, against the French; and the following extract, from the minutes of the proceedings of the Con-

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gress, will show the nature of a part of his services, and the estimation in which they were held by that body.

“(11 *July*, 1754.) Certain proposals from William Johnson, Esq., relative to the six nations, and for defeating the designs of the French; also certain considerations offered by Thomas Pownall, Esq., towards a General Plan of the Measures of the English provinces, were read at the Board.

“It was thereupon voted, that Mr. Franklin¹ be desired to give the thanks of this Board to the said Mr. Johnson and Mr. Pownall, and desire them to suffer copies of said papers to be taken by the Commissioners of each colony for the consideration of their respective Governments.”²

Shortly afterward, Mr. Pownall visited Massachusetts Bay, when he received the appointment of commissioner to negotiate a union of the forces of that province, with those of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, for the purpose of carrying out a proposal for a united ex-

¹ The afterwards celebrated printer, statesman, and philosopher.

² Documentary History of New York, vol. ii. 616. — In 1774, Gov. Pownall wrote, in reference to these *certain considerations*, — “This memorial was sent to England with the rest of the papers of the congress; the measure was immediately adopted by government, and ordered accordingly to be carried into execution in 1755; and it became, in its effect, a decisive stroke.”

pedition, under the command of Colonel (provincial major-general) Johnson, against the French strong-hold at Crown Point. In this negotiation he succeeded; and, as he long afterwards stated in the House of Commons, the enterprise "was by the people engaged in with that zeal which gave example to the rest of the provinces and colonies concerned; and was one of the principal springs of that spirit with which it was carried through;" and the success of the expedition "gave the first check to the French arms, and was the first fruit of our succeeding glory."¹

Early in the following year, 1755, Mr. Pownall returned to England, taking with him a letter from Major-General Johnson, to the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations, in which the following passage shows the confidential footing on which he stood with that able man, in public affairs:—"Having had my time so entirely engaged here since I had the honour of your Lordship's commands to lay my sentiments before you on the plan of measures your Lordships propose, and being obliged to return directly with the best expedition I can to Mount Johnson, I am not able at this juncture to answer your Lordship's commands. I will do it as soon as I am able. Permit me my Lords to

¹ Debate, May 8, 1770, — Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. 934.

refer myself in general on this head to the letters I have had the honour to write your lordships, and in particular to Mr. Pownall, who I find is going to England, as he knows every particular of my sentiments, and is also perfectly acquainted with Indian affairs as they stand connected with the interest of the Continent and his Majesty's service."¹ And, in reference to the same matter, Mr. Pownall, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, in February, 1778, on Mr. Burke's motion relative to the military employment of Indians in America, showed his official connection with government, as well as his intimacy with General Johnson, at the time in question (1754). "— being in a situation which gave a right and power to do it, I formed, in consultation with my friend, Colonel, afterwards Sir William, Johnson,² the plan of Indian administration and establishment, which put the Indians, when employed in conjunction with our troops, under such a superintendency and lead as might direct their operations, in conformity to the laws of nations and *jura belli*."³

The creation of a general superintendent of the Indians had been suggested in Mr. Pownall's

¹ Doc. Hist. of New York, vol. ii. 647.

² He was created a Baronet, Nov. 18, 1755.

³ Hansard, Parl. Hist., xix. 703.

plan of 1754; and his suggestion, together with his recommendation of Major-General Johnson to fill that office, was, on the 14th of April, 1755, submitted to a council of the Governors of several of the colonies, held at Alexandria, in Virginia, and presided over by General Braddock and Admiral Keppel, the respective commanders-in-chief of the military and naval forces in America.¹ Both suggestion and recommendation were adopted, and, in the following October, confirmed by the home government.²

In May, 1756, we find Mr. Pownall accompanying Lord Loudon to New York, on the appointment of that officer to succeed General Braddock in the military command in North America. Whether he held any official appointment under his lordship, we have been unable to discover; it is, however, not unlikely, that there was some official or semi-official connexion between them. A few months afterwards, Mr. Pownall again visited England; and, on the 16th of February, 1757, he was formally gazetted as "Captain General and Governor in Chief" of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, in the room of William Shirley, Esquire. He arrived at Halifax, N. S., on the

¹ Governor Pownall attended this council at Alexandria by order of the Duke of Cumberland.

² Doc. Hist. of New York, vol. ii. 700.

9th of July, in the fleet commanded by Admiral Holburne; and at Boston, the seat of his future government, on the following 2d of August. In about a month afterward, Mr. Belcher, the governor of New Jersey, died; and the commission of lieutenant-governor of that province, which Mr. Pownall had received in 1753, not having been revoked, he immediately repaired thither, and assumed the reins of government; but the short experience of three weeks convinced him of the impracticability of retaining, at the same time, the administration of the governments of both provinces; he therefore gave up New Jersey, and returned to Boston.

It is beyond the purport of this sketch, to follow Mr. Pownall through all the acts of his government; but, the reader will be good enough to bear in mind the position of the American colonies at the period in question. The treaty between Great Britain and France, concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748, had partaken, in its execution, more of the nature of a temporary truce, than of a final treaty of peace; — for, by not clearly defining the limits of the several neighbouring settlements of the two powers, in America, and leaving unallayed the rival exertions of the local governors and chief traders to secure a predominating influence over the Indian tribes, it preserved those already long standing and fruitful sources of bad feeling between their

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respective colonists and local governments; and, a like bad feeling having arisen between the fleets of the two powers — or rather — not having been suppressed on the conclusion of the hollow peace, but allowed, by a variety of petty annoyances, progressively to increase — it eventually, and while the treaty was yet in force, found vent in a collision off Cape Race, in the spring of 1755, when two French ships of war were captured by a like number of English ships, detached from the fleet under Admiral Boscawen. A long course of crimination and recrimination ensued, and resulted in the publication of formal declarations of war by the respective governments, in May and June, 1756, which put an end to that state of *uncertain certainty* of war, in which their respective subjects in America had been long kept, and which was more irritative and demoralizing than avowed and actual warfare.

The commencement then of Mr. Pownall's government of Massachusetts Bay, in August of the following year, was in the midst of an excitement that required a mind of more than common strength and prudence to attemper and direct; — an excitement — be it also observed — that, at the moment, was under less than ordinary control, inasmuch as the people of the province were labouring under the exasperating effects of a series of misfortunes, commencing

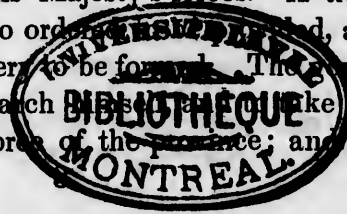
with the capitulation to the Marquis de Montcalm, on the 14th of August in the preceding year, of Fort Oswego, with its one hundred guns, and garrison of sixteen hundred men,—whereby the French not only obtained the mastery on the lakes, but obliged us to abandon all the country of the five nations, the only body of Indians who had preserved even the appearance of friendship towards us;¹ succeeded by the surrender to the same marquis, on the 9th of August, 1757, of Fort William Henry, on Lake George, with its garrison of two thousand five hundred men, who engaged not to serve against the French during the next eighteen months, but who, in defiance of the usages of war, were, on their march to Fort Edward, subjected to a thousand barbarities by the Indian allies of the French;—and these disasters also, immediately followed up by the abandonment of the expedition against Louisbourg, under the command of the Earl of Loudon; an expedition in which the colonists had taken the most active interest, and of the successful result of which they had entertained the most sanguine hopes. “And thus,” says an annalist of that day, “was finished the

¹ The loss of Oswego was characterized, by Sir W. Johnson, as “a mortal wound; as that post was both a curb upon the upper nations (of Indians,) to retain them in our interest, and a security for them against the enemy, should they act in our favour.”—*Doc. Hist. of New York*, vol. ii. 748.

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third campaign in North America, where we had actually 20,000 regular troops, and a great naval power of upwards of twenty ships of the line." Governor Pownall showed himself equal to the task assigned to him; not only in fulfilling the ordinary duties of a civil governor, but those wherein the necessity of the times obliged him to exercise the — to him — less familiar powers of a military commander. "His first step" — says his contemporary, Hutchinson, — "was the creation of a new officer not known in the province before; and Sir William Pepperel received a commission as lieutenant-general over all the militia throughout the province. Orders were then issued by the governor to the colonels of the several regiments through the province, to cause every man to be completely furnished with arms and ammunition according to law; to hold himself in readiness to march at a minute's warning; and to observe the orders of Sir William Pepperel. . . . The governor, by advice of council, issued orders, that the several troops of horse, and one-fourth part of all the regiments of foot, . . . should be drawn out immediately for the protection of the province, and for the aid and assistance of his Majesty's forces. A train of artillery was also ordered to be formed, and a regiment of artillery to be formed. The governor proposed to march . . . to take the command of the forces of the province; and his



company of cadets had orders to be ready to attend him:"¹ — and, if the governor of the province had not shown decidedly, that *his* heart was in the work — that, in fact, *he was in earnest*,² he himself could not — as he afterward did, in the House of Commons — modestly — for he made no allusion to his own *pars magna* in the matter — “bear testimony to the spirit with which they (the people of Massachusetts Bay) set the example to the whole continent of America, in raising troops at the requisition of the crown, to join his Majesty’s forces in the service of this country,” — adding, in exemplification — “They were required to raise but 2,300, as a quota of 7,000 men; but such was their zeal, that, instead of 2,300, a quota of 7,000, they raised, armed, clothed, and paid 7,000, as their own quota; and kept up this number of men effective, during the whole war, as the certificates of the commanders-in-chief have manifested; besides manning and arming their own forts, at their own expense, upon the borders of this frontier province. They kept up also a twenty-gun ship of war, and an armed sloop for the protection of the trade in those seas. Ever attentive and ready to comply with the requisitions of the Crown, they did, upon such desire being signified to them, raise 300 of their best seamen, and send

¹ Hutchinson’s Mass. Bay, from 1749 to 1774, p. 59.

² Junius, Misc. Letter liv. vol. iii. 202.

them to recruit his Majesty's navy; the bounty-money and pay being their own expense. And for these expenses, they raised during the war, £80,000 *per annum*." ¹

The seasons of practicable warfare (from April to November) of the years 1757, 1758, and 1759,

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist. xvi. 985. Debate on 8th May, 1770. In continuing the quoted speech, Governor Pownall made a statement so exhibitivè of the loyalty and good-feeling of the people of Massachusetts Bay, toward the mother-country, at the period referred to, and so worthy of being recalled to mind *at the present moment, when England is rousing herself to the necessity of being prepared to repel foreign invasion*, that an apology will scarcely be deemed requisite for introducing it in a note: — "There is another service," continued the Governor, "which, though the occasion never called for it, yet was in intention; and from the weight and influence of those who were consulted, and knew the spirit of the people, I may venture to say, would have been performed. *Haud incerta pro certa habeo*. I speak of what was plotted and set down. When it was apprehended that the French might invade England, and land a body of troops in it, there was a design amongst those who had an authority and lead with the people there, and who would have been able to have led them into the execution of it, to propose bringing over to this country a body of men to the assistance of the mother-country, which they call their *home*; and if the French had actually landed any troops on English ground, this disaffected, this disloyal people, would have come to the assistance of their parent country, of this — their *home*, — the native country of the colonies." Ere the present generation has passed away, Protestant England may yet be glad of the assistance of her independent Protestant American child, to repel an attack from the combined powers of Roman Catholic Europe, which many serious-minded men already see approaching.

having been thus occupied by the people of Massachusetts Bay, it cannot excite surprise that their energetic and intelligent governor and guide should acquire a tolerably extensive knowledge of the details, as well as of the general requirements, of the military profession; a knowledge too, which his mind must have been well prepared to receive, from his previous training in a public office, followed by an intimate association with the higher classes of men in the regular military service.

But the direction of Governor Pownall's mind to the study of military matters, takes an earlier date, and a more extended field of action, than his governorship of Massachusetts Bay, as we shall now proceed to show; pre-intimating to the reader, that our doing so will lead him to the first link in the chain of evidence by which we propose connecting Governor Pownall with the authorship of the Letters of Junius.

This part of our subject we find so well condensed in the fifteenth chapter of "*Hawkins's Picture of Quebec, with historical recollections,*" that we extract it thence, in preference to submitting it to the reader in our own homely style; and we do so the more readily, as we have good reason for believing, that this particular chapter was the production of the able pen of our esteemed, and truly learned friend, Adam Thom,

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Esquire, for many years Recorder of Rupert's Land.¹

After stating, that there had been no attack of CANADA, by the river St. Lawrence, since the unfortunate expedition of 1711, while the various attempts by Lake Champlain had been foiled by the bravery, vigilance, and good fortune of the French commanders, who were far superior in the mode of warfare required; and that, in 1759, it was determined once more to combine naval with military operations; and to found upon the plans of 1690 and 1711, a better combination, and a more extended system of attack, the writer proceeds:—

“The first idea of the combined operations of 1759 must be referred to the convention at Albany, in 1754. Mr. POWNALL, afterwards Captain-General of Massachusetts Bay, whence he was removed to the Government of South Carolina,² was present at this assembly; and laid before the Commissioners several valuable memorials on the subject of the colonies. He

¹ The work referred to was published at Quebec, in 1834, and has, long since, been *out of print*. The greater part of the other chapters of the book were from the accomplished pen of the late John Charlton Fisher, Esquire, LL.D. There are few works, of that description, more worthy of being republished; or that, of late, have been more frequently sought for.

² He was appointed to, but never assumed, the reins of that government.

also transmitted, in 1754 and 1755, to the Earl of Halifax, then Secretary of State,¹ various letters, proposing a general plan of operations founded upon the nature of the service in North America. These are still extant, and are documents of preëminent ability, full of practical wisdom and deep combinations. The king having united the service in the colonies into one power of action, and under one direction, by appointing a commander-in-chief over all North America, Mr. Pownall afterwards condensed the substance of these letters into a memorial, by order of the Duke of Cumberland, and presented it to His Royal Highness, on arriving in England in 1756. Mr. Pownall then proposed to the Earl of Halifax,—‘That, as the English had been repeatedly disappointed in their attempts to penetrate the country by the way of Crown Point and Lake Champlain, and had lost Oswego and the command of the Lake Ontario,—considering the reason there was also to expect the defection of the Indians in consequence thereof; there remained no other alternative, but either to make peace, *or to change the object of the war*, by making a direct attack up the river St. Lawrence upon Quebec

¹ Lord Halifax was *then* the first of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. He was not made Secretary of State, until October, 1762.

itself, urged to a radical destruction of Canada.' He recommended the necessity of two fleets, and two armies, one for the attack of the river St. Lawrence, the other to take post between Albany and Montreal, so as to cover the English colonies. One of the fleets to escort and convey the army up the river St. Lawrence, and the other to cover and protect the sea line of the colonies. Nothing was done, however, with reference to this plan, in 1757; and in the following year the naval operations were limited to the capture of Louisbourg.

"We learn from Governor Pownall's papers, that so far back as 1678, the French had a brigantine of ten tons on Lake Ontario, and in the year following, a vessel of sixty tons upon Lake Erie. He gives an admirable account of the system by which the French acquired and maintained their influence over the Indian nations — their policy in building forts — and makes a distinction between the English and French settlements, which is somewhat curious. He speaks of the English lands as *settlements*, and of the French, as *possessions*: the English having merely settled without possession, as farmers, millers, and fishermen — whereas the French made not only actual settlement, but took military possession and the command of the country. Governor Pownall gives a list of the French forts, and estimates the number of troops in the differ-

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ent posts in Louisiana at two thousand. . . . We find, also, that in consequence of his recommendation, that valuable species of force, called 'Light Infantry,' was first employed in America, in the year 1757. It was originally composed of provincials, and its use and qualities in American warfare are admirably described.

"In the year 1758, Governor Pownall addressed to Mr. Pitt a letter, dated at Boston, December 5th, intituled, an '*Idea of the service in America for the year 1759,*' from which we extract the following remarkable passages, showing the extent of his information, and how nearly the event corresponded with his recommendations. 'If we have changed the point, and brought it to its true issue, its natural crisis, whether we, as provinces of Great Britain, or Canada as the province of France, shall be superior in America; then the service to be done, is *a general invasion of Canada, in conjunction with the European troops and fleet*; then is our national strength employed, and we must consequently be naturally superior. . . . The road to Quebec, up the St. Lawrence River, we possess by *superiority of our marine navigation*. There is neither danger, nor difficulty, nor do I see how there can be any opposition to hinder the fleet getting up to the Isle of Orleans; and a superior army in the possession of that, may, by proper measures, command the rest of the way to Quebec. If our army can

once set down before Quebec, it must take it: If Quebec be taken, the capitulation may at least strip Canada of all the regulars, after which the inhabitants might possibly be induced to surrender. . . . But although this attempt on Quebec, by way of the St. Lawrence River, may be the only real, and will be the only effectual attack on Canada; yet one other, if not two false attacks will be necessary, *one by way of Lake Champlain, the other by way of Lake Ontario. That by way of Lake Champlain, may, as far as Crown Point, be offensive; and should then change into a defensive measure, by taking strong post there. . . . A number of provincials will certainly be necessary, and these such as are used to the water, and marine navigation; for such will be of the most essential service in the passage of the army from the lower end of the Isle of Orleans to Quebec, where most of the difficulty and danger will lie.*

“The result of the campaign proved the foresight of Governor Pownall. Quebec was taken as soon as the army, by the glorious battle of the Plains, was enabled to sit down before it; and the operations of General Amherst were limited, during the campaign of 1759, to the capture of Crown Point, which he fortified and made a defensive post.”

On the subsequent publication, in the year 1764, of the letter to Mr. Pitt, from which these

extracts are taken, Governor Pownall appended to it the following summary of the successful issue of so much of his plan as had been adopted and acted upon, and pointed out the great risk that had been incurred in not adopting the remainder:—

“The reader is here desired to refer to the events of the year 1759, in America:

“Quebec was taken by General Townshend, the moment that the army was enabled to set down before it, by the greatly hazarded, and gloriously successful stroke of General Wolfe.

“The operations of the army under General Amherst, could not, by all the skill and determined perseverance of that excellent officer, be pushed further than Crown Point, and there became defensive by fortifying that point.

“The operations up the Mohawk River, and on Lake Ontario, were carried just to that effect which opened the way for the next campaign, in 1760, when General Amherst went that way to take possession of Canada.

* * * * *

“The *whole* fleet was taken up the river St. Lawrence; where, as General Wolfe expressly declares, it was a part of the force least adapted to the object: the sea-line of the colonies was left uncovered and open. If the French had had sense enough to have sent two ships of the line, with a frigate or two, and one or two bomb-

ketches, they might have burnt Halifax, Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, without interruption; or even if such measure had not been carried to that degree of success, they might have raised such an alarm as should have broken up some of our active, offensive operations, in order to come to the defence of this sea line; and, perhaps, thus the whole of the operations of 1759, have been disconcerted and defeated. To inquire why this was done, would at this time become a mere criticism; for as, by good luck, no such accident happened, it is right that success should justify every measure."¹

The following extract from a speech of Governor Pownall, delivered in the House of Commons, in March, 1778, in reference to this subject, may not be deemed uninteresting, nor yet misplaced, although its date is somewhat in anticipation of the order of events. — "I remember the time, and a very critical one, too, in the last war, in actual time of war, when for several days there was no minister in this country. When, in the year 1756, I came over from America, with the plan and proposal of changing the object of the war, by making a direct attack on Canada, commenced by the siege of Quebec, I was in town for several days, without anybody being able to tell me to whom I was to address

¹ Appendix to *Admin'n of the Colonies*, 4th edition, p. 60.

myself. Mr. Fox was just then gone out, and no successor was as yet fixed upon. At last I had the pleasure to find that Mr. Pitt became the minister; and from that happy moment commenced the era of all the successes and glories of the last war. . . . The share I had last war in the plans, *as well as execution*, of the measures in America, give me some right to speak with confidence; and I shall speak out without reserve. Those who never knew, or those who have forgotten my services, may see all that I say, and perhaps more, justified, by referring to the Secretary of State's office, or the Board of Trade."¹

On recollecting that the plan alluded to originated with Governor Pownall, in 1754, and was modified and took the shape of a "general plan of operations," by order of the Duke of Cumberland, to whom it was presented by its author, in the autumn of 1756,² that in the following May, a fleet, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, and fifty transports, conveying six thousand troops, sailed for Halifax, there to meet an equal number of troops from New York, and all, under the command of the Earl of Loudon, destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, in Cape Breton, as preliminary to the carrying out of the "general plan of operations" against

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist. xix. 942.

² Appendix to *Adm. of the Colonies*, p. 2.

Quebec and Canada, which had been adopted by the ministry, — and that Governor Pownall was sent out, in the same fleet, with the appointment of Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of the province of Massachusetts Bay, — that the great strength of Louisbourg, and the presence of a French fleet, superior in strength to our own, caused the postponement of the expedition to the following summer, when it was resumed, and resulted in the capitulation (26th July) of Louisbourg, together with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, — and that towards the close of the year (1758) the “general plan of operations,” in a more succinct and definite form, was again submitted to Mr. Pitt, the prime minister, (at his own instance it may be presumed,) and made the basis of the instructions for the subsequent operations in America, we think we are justified in surmising, that the governorship of Massachusetts Bay was conferred upon Mr. Pownall with the view of placing him in a position of eminence, whence he might see his general plan, in so far as it had been adopted, properly carried out, and where he might have recourse to him for explanation, and as being possessed of the views of the prime minister on the subject, could at all times be readily had, by the leaders to whom the immediate direction of the enterprise was intrusted.

The surrender of Quebec, in September, 1759,

added to the previous loss of Cape Breton and St. John, and other disasters, which, within the same period, in other parts of America, at sea, and on the continent of Europe, befell the French, crippled their strength, and their resources, to such a degree as to render the completion of the conquest of Canada, a matter of comparative ease, and eventual certainty; and the special, though not ostensible object of Governor Pownall's mission in America, at the particular period in question, was accomplished. In February, 1760, he received intimation of his appointment to the more lucrative government of South Carolina; notwithstanding which, he continued in the government of Massachusetts Bay until the third of June, when he sailed from Boston for England.¹ That his administration of that government met with the approval of the home cabinet, may be fairly assumed from the follow-

¹ As Governor Pownall assumed the title of *Governor*, but never the reins of the government of *South Carolina*, it appears probable, that the appointment was conferred upon him in like manner, and for the same reason, as was that of the government of *Virginia* upon Sir Jeffrey Amherst, namely, — "As a reward and a standing testimonial of the great services he had done in America during the late war;" (*Annual Register for 1769*, p. 62.) Or, as Junius, under the signature *Lucius*, alleged, that Mr. Pitt, the Secretary of State, had, by letter, "assured Sir Jeffrey Amherst, that the government of Virginia was given him merely as a reward was meant only as a mark of his Majesty's favour," and that "his residence should never be required." Vol. iii. 108, 110.

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ing passages in his *Memorials to the King*, published in 1784:— Writing in the third person, he says—"He does not presume to vaunt of his former services in this American line, although he shall always be proud of the approbation they received."¹ "When the present Memorialist was Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, knowing the importance of the post of Penobscot, he took possession of it, and built a fort there, which the people named *Fort Pownall*. . . . He received the gracious approbation of his late Majesty, conveyed to him by Mr. Secretary Pitt; so that the importance of this post hath not been unknown, and is not new to government."² And, in a note in another place, alluding to his commissionership in 1754, and his subsequent governorship, he says of himself—"He began his course by learning to serve them, (the people of Massachusetts Bay,) and he afterwards so commanded as to obtain the approbation of those whom he governed, and the honourable testimony they bore him."³ And again,— "This is the opinion, and was the system of a poor practical Governor, who did govern his Majesty's provinces; this is *the leaf out of his book*, which the late Earl of Halifax directed him to give to his successor,

¹ P. 32.

² P. 40.

³ Note to *Memorial to the Sovereigns of America*, p. 7.

Sir Francis Bernard, *that he might govern them as well as they had been governed* by the forgotten servant who writes this.”¹ We add, from the same *Memorial*, an incidental reference, tending to support our position as to Governor Pownall’s knowledge of military matters : — “Your Memorialist having been in the service of the Crown during the last war in America, in characters wherein it was his duty to be informed of, and to study these objects ; wherein it was his duty to give his opinion *on military operations* ; wherein his opinions were formerly adopted ; most”²

And here, having arrived at a marked epoch in the life we are endeavouring to trace, at which it appears almost necessary to pause, we present to the reader an extract, which, while it confirms our view of Governor Pownall’s ability in the art of governing, gives the only description we have yet met with, from which any thing like a fair opinion of his character and manners, in social life, antecedent to the appearance of the letters, can be formed ; and will therefore afford additional and proper material, for judging whether, even at this early period, there existed in Governor Pownall such a combination of qualities, moral, political, and social, as would be likely, in the course of a few more years, to mature into the

¹ *Mem. to the King*, Appendix, p. 54.

² *Ib.* p. 33.

great *nominis umbra*. The extract is taken from the second volume of a *Continuation* of Governor Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*, by George Richards Minot, of Boston.¹ The learned judge thus closes his sketch of Governor Pownall's administration of the government of that province:—

“Governor Pownall being appointed to the command of South Carolina, with a more advantageous salary, he prepared to return to England, with permission, previously to his entering upon the duties of his new commission. His administration had been short, but extremely successful. He saw the prevailing feelings and habits of the people, and realizing that his future advancement might depend much upon the reputation which he might acquire in Massachusetts, he accommodated his measures to them with such address, that he was even exempted from exceptions to appearances in his personal conduct, which would have been highly censurable, according to the strict notions of the times, in a less favourite character. The savings of the

¹ The first volume of Judge Minot's work was published in Boston in 1798, and the second in 1803; the latter in an incomplete state, death having cut short the life of the learned author. The narrative abruptly terminates with a description of the riots in Boston, in August, 1765, in the course of which the “triumphant demonocracy” destroyed the houses of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson and others.

public money, which he made by his exertions rendered him justly popular in a Province, where the want of affluence could be supplied only by industry. He effected this by the greatest attention to the dispatch of public business, which shortened the sessions of the General Court, and of course reduced the drafts on the treasury for the pay of the members. He lessened the advances of the Province by uniting with them the allowance of the crown for mileage-money to the soldiers; and his manner of building the fort at Penobscot was a master-piece of political economy. He associated with an easy condescension, amongst those leaders in the capital, who generally directed the voice of the multitude, whilst he indulged his natural gaiety in the politer circles of fashion and pleasure. The importance of his connexions, and his supposed influence in England, had great weight with those to whom the public affairs of the Province were particularly intrusted; and indeed in his future parliamentary conduct he showed himself not unmindful of this respect. The concerns of the war kept nearly out of sight the great controversial points respecting rights and prerogative, on which the General Court and former Governors usually divided; and when they came up, as once happened in the case of stationing troops on the frontiers, he yielded to a spirit which it had cost so much to subdue on similar

occasions, and which he was not ill adapted to manage by apparent concessions. It was the height of his good fortune that the British arms prevailed beyond all rational calculation, which cast a lustre on his exertions in the military department, and gave an exultation to the people, that naturally elevated their immediate rulers in their view. The extent of his influence with the members of the Legislature is evidenced by their respectful addresses, and by a compliment which the majority of the House paid him by offering him a passage to England in the provincial frigate, which they had assigned for bringing over the reimbursement money granted by Parliament, although it was the only vessel of force that was left to protect the trade. This proposal however, was shown in a remonstrance of the merchants to the Council, to be so hostile to commerce, and so extravagant as it respected the freight of the public money, that the project was given up, by the Governor's declining the offer and taking passage in a private ship. When he embarked, both Houses attended him in a body to his barge, and every ceremony was adopted which could leave a favourable impression on his mind."

Let it not be said, that in these, the earlier events of Governor Pownall's life, we have entered more minutely than is necessary for the ostensible purpose of these pages:—our object

in so doing is, to show, that in those very events are to be found precisely that unconscious and gradual preparation of the mind, and that acquirement of particular branches of knowledge, which were essential to the after-production of the letters of Junius;—letters which, “with all their blemishes, will probably never fail to find a place in the libraries of the British scholar and British statesman;” and “but for which,” says Dr. Good, “the Commons of England might still have been without a knowledge of the transactions of the House of Commons, consisting of their parliamentary representatives—have been exposed to the absurd and obnoxious harassment of parliamentary arrests, upon a violation of privileges undefined and incapable of being appealed against—defrauded of their estates upon an arbitrary and interested claim of the crown—and deprived of the constitutional right of a jury to consider the question of law as well as of fact;”¹—and which—we may add, in the language of Mr. Britton,—“When candidly and honestly viewed, will be found to constitute an important feature, not only in the political, but in the literary, the moral, and the philosophical annals of the nation.”²

We now take up the first connecting link between Junius and Governor Pownall.

¹ Prel. Essay, vol. i. 8.

² Junius Elucidated, p. vii.

Shortly after the reduction of Quebec, Brigadier-General Townshend returned to England; and, in the following summer, there appeared in London an anonymous pamphlet, bearing the title, — “A LETTER to an Honourable Brigadier-General, Commander-in-chief of His Majesty’s Forces in Canada;” which so severely reflected on the conduct of General Townshend, that he, or his friends, deemed it necessary to meet it by the publication of “A REFUTATION of the LETTER, etc. : — By an Officer;” which, though devoid of literary merit, afterward passed through several editions. Although suspicion was expressed by a writer in the Gentleman’s Magazine, in 1817, that the *Letter*,¹ and the subsequently published letters of Junius, were indebted to the same parent for existence, it was never formally ascribed to Junius, until 1841, when Mr. N. W. Simons, of the British Museum, republished both *Letter* and *Refutation*, with a short, and well-written Introduction, clearly establishing the genuineness of the former, as a letter of the great political censor; so clearly indeed, that it is now, almost universally, recognized as the first, in the order of time, of the writings of that extraordinary man.

In 1848, the “veteran Author,” Mr. Britton,

¹ Our future references to these two pamphlets shall be simply to — the *Letter*, and — the *Refutation*.

whose opinion of the *Letter* coincided with that of Mr. Simons, published his "*Junius Elucidated*," in which he very ingeniously attempted to identify Junius with the well-known Colonel Isaac Barré, and adduced such evidence of the gallant Colonel's authorship of the *Letter*, as, at first sight, to make any attempt to controvert it appear hopeless; and, if chance had not led us, several months before we were aware of the existence of Mr. Britton's work, and without giving a thought to the *Letter*, to believe, that in Governor Pownall we had found the true Junius, we should have felt convinced, and have rested satisfied with Mr. Britton's proofs and arguments. But our conviction of the authorship of the letters of Junius had not been lightly attained, nor until after much patient research; and we could not, therefore, willingly abandon it, until a close investigation of Mr. Britton's theory, in so far as it was based upon the *Letter*, should have decided the question against us. We therefore applied the tests of undoubted facts and dates, and the result was singularly fortunate, inasmuch as the inquiry — somewhat unexpectedly, because, from oversight, we had not previously paid any attention to the *Letter* — led to the means of testing our own theory, and giving it such additional support as, we have the temerity to believe, will be as convincing to the reader, as it is to ourselves.

Our first endeavour will be, to show that although Colonel Barré had — and we cordially admit it — the ability to write the *Letter*, yet that there exists an improbability, amounting almost to an impossibility, that he could have written it; — and our next, to exhibit such circumstantial evidence of its having been written by Governor Pownall, as to leave little or no room for doubt on the subject.

Mr. Britton, in speaking of the action in which Wolfe fell, says — “Major Barré was severely wounded in the face in the same action, so as to destroy one eye, and ultimately induce total blindness,” — “on the 26th of October, 1759, Monckton . . . embarked at Quebec for New York, . . . Barré and Colonel Carleton, (the latter also being wounded,) had *previously* gone to that city,” and “whilst at New York, Barré addressed a letter to Mr. Pitt;” which letter is given at length, and bears date “New York, April 28th, 1760.”¹ Now, Barré’s wounded eye, and the coolness — if not something worse — which existed between him and General Townshend, while at Quebec, preclude the probability of his having seen the despatch of the latter, of the 20th of September, 1759, until after it had been published in London, on the 17th of the following October, and had thence re-crossed the

¹ Junius Elucidated, pp. 25 and 26.

Atlantic to New York, where — as appears from his own letter to Mr. Pitt — he had been made Adjutant-General to the army under General Amherst; a post which, we may fairly presume — time, place, and circumstances being duly considered — must have left its holder little leisure for lashing his quondam commanding officer, through the medium of the public press in London. At what particular date the army left New York, we have been unable to discover; but it must have been very shortly after the date of Barré's letter to Mr. Pitt, as we find that General Amherst had established his head-quarters at Albany before the 18th of May;¹ — that the army left Schenectady on the 21st of June, — reached Oswego on the 9th of the next month, — left the latter place on the 10th of August, — laid siege to — and, on the 25th, captured *Fort Royale*, — thence descended the river St. Lawrence, and laid siege to Montreal, which resulted in the surrender, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, not only of that city, but of all Canada, on the 8th of September, 1760. General Amherst's despatches, announcing that important event to the British ministry, were intrusted to Colonel (then Major) Barré, who, three days after the capitulation, sailed from Quebec, in the frigate *Vengeance*, and reached London on Saturday,

¹ Major Rogers's Journal, p. 172.

the 4th of October, the day before the *date* — and, we presume, two days before the *publication* of the *Refutation*. Barré *could not* have written the *Letter* before he left New York, because there are in it references to — and quotations from, the proceedings and sentence of the court martial, held in London, for the trial of Lord George Sackville, for misconduct at the battle of Minden, which sentence was first promulgated, in London, on the 26th of April; while the proceedings and evidence were not made public until some weeks afterward, when they were published at the instance of Lord George himself.

Again — in the postscript to the *Letter*, there is embodied an “advertisement” of General Townshend, dated June 20, 1760, referring to a paragraph which had appeared in the London *Daily Advertiser* of the preceding day; — the writer of the *Letter* gives the contents of that “advertisement,” as his authority for having asserted; that — “*you (General T.) were convinced Quebec was not defensible:*” — and further, the battles of Erxdorf and Warbourg, fought — respectively — on the 16th and 31st days of July, are mentioned in the *Letter*; and a quotation is also given from the *London Gazette* of the 2d of August, 1760. From these premises, it follows; that the *Letter* must have been written and published, in London, after the latter date, and before

the 5th of October, date of the *Refutation*. In the face of these stubborn facts and precise dates; the assertion of the *possibility* of Colonel Barré having been the author of the *Letter*, can only be exceeded in absurdity by a contention for the *probability* of his having been so.

We turn now to the inquiry — whether Governor Pownall could have been its author?

The extracts already given from the *Picture of Quebec* show, satisfactorily, that although Governor Pownall was not a soldier by profession, yet, as early in life as at the date of the *Letter*; he could vie with military men of high standing, in that peculiar knowledge which is essential to the formation of the higher class of soldier; — and when to that knowledge we add, his long and familiar intercourse with military men in the regular service, and the practical knowledge of the minor details of active military service, which, of necessity, he must have acquired during the short, but warlike and eventful period of his governorship of Massachusetts Bay, we shall find him possessed of all the requisite qualities, to enable him to write the *Letter*, and to breathe through it that military tone which has led to the general belief, that it could not have been written by any one but a soldier: — and when, again, we add to these qualities, the particular circumstance of his having originated the general plan of operations for the invasion and

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conquest of Canada, of which the attack upon Quebec, as it was carried into execution, formed an important feature, we may well imagine, that he not only anxiously watched the chief movements of the army under Wolfe, but that he had the means, and used them too, of obtaining — in America, in the course of the remainder of his governorship, and — in England, immediately after his return thither, all those minute particulars of events which occurred before, during, and subsequent to the reduction of Quebec, with which the writer of the *Letter* was undoubtedly familiar. As General Monckton, Colonel Carleton, and Major Barré withdrew from the captured city of Quebec, to New York, until their wounds were healed, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Governor Pownall may have learned from *them*, many of those little anecdotes of the expedition, and of the parties engaged in it, which could only be gleaned in the course of familiar verbal or epistolary correspondence with persons who had taken part in it.

As already stated, Governor Pownall sailed from Boston on the 3d of June, and the *Letter* could not have been written and published until after the 2d of August; showing — on the assumption of his passage to England having been an ordinary one — that there must have been more than ample time, after his arrival in Lon-

don, for the concoction, printing, and publishing of both *Letter* and *Refutation*, so that the latter should be published on the 5th of October. That the author of the latter suspected the writer of the former of having been absent from England, is evident, when he says — p. 41 -- “ But where has this pamphleteer been to find himself under the necessity of quoting this letter? He must not have been in England, surely; or must not have read the public papers, in which, a little time after the news of the taking of Quebec, appeared the annexed funeral eulogium, taken from a letter written by G[enera]l T[ownshen]d, to a friend in London.” The letter referred to, was quoted in the *Letter*, p. 8, as one in which Sir William Johnson had said, — “ I have only to regret the loss of General *Prideaux*. I endeavoured to pursue his vigorous measures, the good effects of which he deserved to enjoy.” Now, it is to be remarked, that General *Prideaux* was in command of the force besieging the French fort at Niagara, when, on the 23d of July, 1759, he was killed by the accidental bursting of one of his own cohorn, and the further prosecution of the siege devolved upon Major-General Sir William Johnson, the commander of the Indian auxiliaries; — the letter of Sir William, referring to that event, was addressed to General Amherst, the Commander-in-chief of the forces in America; and, as it was not published in England, the

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writer of the *Letter* must have obtained the extract from it either from the latter or the former. Either is likely, if Governor Pownall were the author, on account of the great intimacy in private life, and the confidential footing in public matters, on which he stood with each of them.

The facts which we have thus alleged and proved, and the inferences which may, legitimately, be drawn from them, form together a mass of evidence so little short of positive, that we think it will now be as readily conceded, that, towards the close of the summer of 1760, Governor Pownall wrote the "*Letter to an Honourable Brigadier-General, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in Canada*" as that it and the *Letters of Junius* were the productions of one and the same mind. In further support of this position, we may also call the attention of the reader to a particular expression in the *Letter*, which seems directly to point to Governor Pownall, as the author. On page 9, the writer says, — "But they must have known very little of the expedition to *Quebec* who expected that you would bear testimony to the conduct of a General whose plan of operations you had the honour, both in public and private, to oppose; and against whose last desperate attempt you protested in form." Besides showing an intimate knowledge of the preliminary consultations

at Wolfe's head-quarters, this passage speaks of the General's *plan of operations*: — now, the document to which we have already referred, as having been drawn up and presented, in 1756, by Governor Pownall, to the Duke of Cumberland, was intituled — “A MEMORIAL: stating the nature of the service in NORTH AMERICA, and proposing a GENERAL PLAN OF OPERATIONS, as founded thereon;”¹ and in several places in this memorial, and in his other writings relative to the Colonies, the expression — *a plan of operations* — or, *a one plan of operations*, is used. Moreover, — in the *Letter*, General Wolfe's “last desperate attempt” is spoken of, — an expression which seems to tally well with that of Governor Pownall before quoted, — “the greatly hazarded, and gloriously successful stroke of General Wolfe:” — and, in reference to the “plan of operations” which General Townshend “had the honour, both in public and private, to oppose,” we see the foundation of the bitter feeling evinced by Junius — who, beyond question, was *a good hater* — towards General Townshend. Pownall's “*general plan of operations*” was, no doubt, known to Wolfe, although he may not have known Pownall to have been the originator of it; but Pownall, knowing that it had been adopted by the Min-

¹ Appendix to *Admin. of the Colonies*, p. 1.

istry, and that Wolfe's particular "plan of operations," was but the carrying out of the chief feature of his own *general* plan, must have felt his ire rise, on learning, that the opposition of General Townshend "both in public and in private," was likely to render—or had nearly rendered—that general plan abortive; and hence—the *Letter* of 1760 was the outpouring of that ire on the first fitting opportunity, after the author's return to England.

Having now re-landed our worthy governor in his native country, and exhibited him in such close connexion with the earliest of the writings of Junius, as—at the least—to raise in the mind of the most doubting reader, some faint idea that, *after all*, our conjecture of the identity of the two, may, *possibly*, be well founded; we resume the narrative of such of the remaining events of Governor Pownall's life, as tend to establish the truth of our hypothesis.

The energy and ability of such a man could not be allowed to remain long idle; and, accordingly, we find him, a few months after his return to England, foregoing his appointment to the governorship of South Carolina,¹ and accepting, with the rank of colonel, the office of comptroller-general of the expenditure and accounts of the

¹ Thomas Boone, Esq., was appointed Governor of South Carolina, April 14, 1761.

extraordinaries of the combined army in Germany, under the command of Prince Ferdinand, of Brunswick.

In this appointment, we find why—in the language of Dr. Good—"Junius appears to have uniformly entertained a good opinion of, or at least, a partiality for, Lord Holland;"¹ and why—in Junius's own words—he should "wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour,"² namely, from the charge of peculation, made in the petition of the city of London, presented to the King, July 5, 1769;—and why Junius "designedly spared Lord Holland and his family."³ His lordship was paymaster-general of the forces, from July 5, 1757, to June 8, 1765; and, Governor Pownall, on accepting the comptroller-generalship, became one of his deputies, and bound to render to him the accounts of the office. In Lord Holland's "*Answer*" to "*Observations on the accounts of the paymaster-general*," to be found in the note A, immediately after the letter to Woodfall, No. 5, July 21, 1769, is the following paragraph;—"The accounts of Lord Holland for the years 1757, 1758, and 1759; likewise the accounts of his deputies, attending the army in Germany, from the commencement to the end of the late war, are also

¹ Prel. Essay, vol. i. 81, and * 174, note.

² Letter to Woodfall, No. 5.

³ Misc. Lett. C., vol. iii. 410.

before the auditors for their examination, and his Lordship's account for the year 1760, is almost ready to be delivered to them."¹ We learn, here, that Mr. Comptroller-General Pownall's accounts "to the end of the late war" had been transmitted to the auditors for examination; and, from an obituary notice of him, published in the year of his death, that they had been "examined and *passed with honour*." It is not at all improbable that Governor Pownall received his appointment on the recommendation of Lord Holland; and hence, the partiality of Junius to his lordship. We may also well suppose, that the great anxiety of Junius to remain unknown, would prohibit his entering upon the discussion of any subject—such as that of the public accounts of Lord Holland, as paymaster-general, connected as they, necessarily, must have been, with his own, as comptroller-general—that might bring his real name into prominence, and tend to direct towards him the attention of the legion of hunters who were in busy and constant search for the "mighty boar of the forest."

The notice of Governor Pownall's appointment, as comptroller-general, gives us also occasion to explain a passage in the *Miscellaneous Letter IV.*, dated Aug. 25, 1767, which has puzzled every one who has attempted to solve the

¹ Vol. i. 182.

Junius mystery; and has, in many, induced the belief, that Junius must have been a member of the military profession. Speaking of Lord George Townshend (the before-mentioned brigadier-general), and his brother, Charles, Junius says, — "I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. I have served under the one, and have been forty times promised *to be served* by the other."¹ Paradoxical as it may seem (and considering the rank of colonel, which accompanied the appointment of comptroller-general, as merely honorary rank), the civilian² Governor Pownall could properly use, in its military sense, the expression — "I have *served under* the one" — in reference to either the military, or the civilian, of the two brothers Townshend. Not long after Brigadier-General Townshend's return from Canada, he joined the allied army in Germany, and made a campaign with it, under Prince Ferdinand. During the same campaign, and in the same army, but in a civil department, Governor Pownall served; and, of course, in as truly a military sense as if he had belonged to the commissariat or medical departments; he *served under* General Townshend, although he might not have been under his *immediate* command. Thus much for the military brother: — now for the civilian.

¹ Vol. ii. 469.

² We use the word *civilian* in the sense which it obtains in common parlance, and not as meaning "one skilled in civil law."

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On the 24th of March, in the same year, the Right Honourable Charles Townshend was appointed Secretary at War; and as, to a certain extent, and in a general sense, the whole army may be said to be under the direction of — and, consequently, to *serve under* the Secretary at War; so each individual of the army may, in a general sense, be held to *serve under* him, although he may be, like Charles Townshend, *only a civilian*. The civilian Governor Pownall then, as controller-general, in Germany; while the civilian Charles Townshend was Secretary at War, in England, might, without any great stretch of conscience, say — and in a military sense too — that he had *served under* Charles Townshend, although neither the one nor the other of them, was, in a strict sense, a soldier: — the former was *of* — but not *in* — the army, — and the latter was neither *of* — nor *in* — but *over* the army; and both were non-combatants.

A consequence of the treaty of Paris, of Feb. 10, 1763, was, the breaking up of the office in the army, in Germany, held by Governor Pownall, and his return to England; soon after which, he took up his residence at RICHMOND, where, it will be recollected, the court of George the Third, was established during the period in which Junius, as chief public political censor, *reigned* in England, unseen, unknown, but not unfelt.

Before retiring to Richmond, Governor Pownall was offered, by the ministry, any government he pleased in America, if he would return to that country, in that line of service ; but, he declined the offer, because he could not agree with them, that "the surest way of securing the dependence of the colonies, was an exercise of the supremacy of Great Britain, in legislative power, external to their will, and in imposing and levying taxes, neither given nor granted by their own consent ;" and that "a revenue so raised might be applicable, as future occasions might require, to the measures of British politics."¹ And, in this declining to go to America, we find the ground of that passage in the *Miscellaneous Letter, LIV.*, signed JUNIUS, and dated, April 12, 1769, in which Junius says — "It is true, I have refused offers which a more prudent, or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm, that *I am in earnest* ; because I am convinced . . . that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction."²

Having in vain urged upon the ministry his peculiar views of *Colonial Government*, he at length embodied them "into a treatise on the subject, and published it in the year 1764, as an appeal to the sense of the nation at large, under

¹ General Preface to *Memorials*, p. viii. et seq.

² Vol. iii. 202.

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the title of *The Administration of the Colonies.*" In this treatise he endeavoured to point the way of so combining into one great system the reciprocal interests, political and commercial, of the mother-country and her colonies, as "that Great Britain may be no more considered as the kingdom of this Isle only, with many appendages of provinces, colonies, settlements, and other extraneous parts, but as a GRAND MARINE DOMINION, CONSISTING OF OUR POSSESSIONS IN THE ATLANTIC AND IN AMERICA, UNITED INTO A ONE EMPIRE, IN A ONE CENTRE, WHERE THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT IS."¹ The work attracted so much attention, that in 1768 it reached to a fourth edition, and six years afterward to a fifth. "The refusing to go to America on this service" — wrote Governor Pownall twenty years afterward — "and the publication of this treatise, ruined me with those who had the real power of Government in their hands."² I was not ignorant that it would have such effect. I sacrificed to what I thought truth and right; and I thank God I have never yet once, to this hour (1784), repented that I made that sacrifice."³

In 1765, Governor Pownall was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and, on the third of

¹ *Admin. of the Colonies*, p. 9 et seq. General Preface to *Memorials*, p. xi.

² Namely, Lord Sandwich, and the Duke of Grafton.

³ General Preface to *Memorials*, p. xi.

August, in the same year, he married Lady Fawken-
er, daughter of Lieutenant-General Churchill,
and widow of Sir Everard Fawken-er. Than
Lady Fawken-er, few women in England were,
at the time, more remarkable for personal beauty;
and fewer still for a high order of intellect, sedu-
lously cultivated, and a manner in every way fit-
ted to adorn and charm society. Sir Everard had
been appointed, in March, 1745, secretary to the
Duke of Cumberland, and, in the following May,
he and the Earl of Leicester, were appointed joint
post-masters general:— he subsequently, and for
several years, held, with great ability, the high
office of His Majesty's ambassador to the Otto-
man Porte.

Governor Pownall, being now independent of
office under government; soon found in the House
of Commons a new field for the exercise of his
talents. In January, 1767, he was elected to suc-
ceed the deceased William Trevanion, Esquire,
in the representation of Tregony, in Cornwall;
and, at the ensuing general election, in 1768, he
was reëlected for the same borough, in conjunc-
tion with John Gray, Esquire, uncle to the Earl
of Stamford, and a clerk to the board of green-
cloth. In December, 1774, he was returned for
Minehead, in Somersetshire, and continued to sit
for that borough until the end of that parliament,
in October, 1780, when he closed his parliamen-
tary career.

The reader will, no doubt, have observed, from the foregoing sketch, how progressively, as the time for the rising of the comet-like Junius approached, Governor Pownall became established in that social, political, and local position, in which he could unobservedly, and without any extraordinary exertions, collect almost any amount of that kind of information respecting past, passing, and approaching events, and regarding persons of all ranks and degrees, from the monarch on the throne, to the lowest clerk in a public office, which manifests itself throughout the writings of Junius; and which not only excited the surprise of his contemporaries, but has continued to the present day, to be a *stumbling-block* to every one who has attempted to penetrate the darkness in which he enshrouded himself.

But another source from which he derived information, especially that information which related to measures and movements in and about the public offices of the government, remains to be pointed out. In opening our sketch, we mentioned that Governor Pownall's public life began in 1745, as secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations; and that he had an elder brother. We now extract from *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the eighteenth century*, but with one or two corrections and additions, a summary of the leading events of that brother's life.

JOHN POWNALL, who was also an eminent

antiquary and intelligent statesman, and, like the Governor, educated at Cambridge, was for many years one of the deputy lieutenants for the county of Lincoln, and in the commission of the peace for the counties of Lincoln, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and the city and liberty of Westminster. In 1754, he succeeded his brother, Thomas, as secretary to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations.¹ In January, 1768, on the creation of the new office of Secretary of State for the colonies, and the appointment of Lord Hillsborough thereto, Mr. Pownall was made *under-secretary* for the colonies, in addition to his other secretaryship. On the 11th of December, 1771, a grant passed the great seal, conferring upon him the office of Provost-Master-General of the Leeward and Caribbee Islands in America, "to hold the same by himself, or sufficient deputy, during his life, or the lives of John Livingston Pownall, and George Pownall,² his sons, or the longest liver of them." In 1773, he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, — in 1774, he was elected a member of the House of Commons, for St. Germain's, in Cornwall, but

¹ His appointment to the same office on the 17th of February, 1761, as recorded by the annalists of the time, was merely a re-appointment, on the first one becoming vacant by the demise of George the Second.

² Afterwards Secretary of the Province of Lower Canada. He was knighted April 6, 1796, and died October 17, 1834.

vacated his seat about eighteen months afterward, on being appointed one of the commissioners of excise, — and in 1785, he was made one of the commissioners of the customs. These commissionerships he resigned in 1788, on account of his declining health, and upon his eldest son being appointed to the office of accomptant of the petty receipts. His character for ability, integrity, attention to and knowledge of business, was universally known: and after his retirement from public employments, he continued his exertions as an active and useful magistrate. He died at Westminster, July 17, 1795, leaving a widow (daughter of Lillingston Bowden Lillingston, Esquire, of Ferryby, in Yorkshire), the two sons above named, and a daughter.

Now, where there is no greater disparity of years, than that which existed between Governor Pownall, and his brother John, — and where there is — as, in their case, there certainly was — a tendency of mind towards the same studies and pursuits,¹ we may fairly presume that “brotherly love,” in full force, will prevail; and when to that presumption are added the facts — that John Pownall became the immediate successor of his brother in the secretaryship for trade and plantations, — that their relative positions thenceforward, and

¹ We allude more particularly to those relating to antiquities, in which both brothers were very eminent.

until the close of Thomas's governorship in 1760, necessarily kept them in continued official correspondence with each other,¹—and that John Pownall continued to hold the same office, and that of under-secretary for the colonies, throughout the period of time in which Junius *blazed*, there can be little doubt that the social intercourse of the two brothers was of the most unrestrained and confidential character; and that John would, from time to time, relate to his brother, as *one of us*, many of those little—as well as great anecdotes, respecting little—as well as great men (*and women*) which obtain free circulation in—and scarcely beyond—the public offices; and this—without ever dreaming, that, in so doing, he was feeding “the mighty boar of the forest”—Junius.

Before entering upon the task of showing an identity of opinions between Governor Pownall

¹ We have seen some of this correspondence in the State-paper office, in Boston; and, although it may tend to throw doubt upon the hypothesis which we are half inclined to entertain, that Sir Philip Francis was the amanuensis of Junius, we cannot, in fairness, withhold an observation on the handwriting of Governor Pownall. In general, it approaches as nearly to the handwriting of Junius, as that of Sir Philip does; but in one particular it perfectly resembles—while Sir Philip's differs from it. The letters—*m*, *n*, and *w*, are invariably written by Sir Philip with round tops and bottoms—and, as invariably, by the Governor and Junius, with sharp ones. This is very conspicuous in the Governor's signature, in which the *w* and *n* are conjoined.

and Junius, on questions of constitutional law, or of public policy or interest, and other matters, either directly dealt with, or incidentally touched upon, by the latter, we pause, for the purpose of asking the reader, if, in any one of the many persons to whom the authorship of the letters of Junius has been attributed, a greater aggregate of the qualities essential to the due filling of the character of that singular writer, can be found, than in Governor Pownall, as we have, thus far, although, we fear, very imperfectly, depicted him? Trace him from his first entry, at the age of twenty-three, into a public office of high trust, through his career of service and command in America, and of service in Germany, down to his entrance into the House of Commons, at the age of forty-five, and we find him progressively passing through those situations wherein he could best obtain a thoroughly practical, as well as theoretical knowledge of public men, and public affairs, military as well as civil; — situations wherein, without being a soldier, he could scarcely fail to become one, — wherein, without being a lawyer, he, almost of necessity, became — and practically too — a constitutional one, — wherein a certain manner of command was an almost necessary adjunct to the fulfilment of his duty, — and wherein, assisted by consciousness of sound intellect, and integrity of purpose, he could, with ease, contract the habit of addressing his fellow

man as his equal, although a coronet should press the brow, and a ducal star gleam from the breast of that fellow man.

It may be said, however, that we have not shown any particular direction of Governor Pownall's mind towards the acquirement of that familiar knowledge of constitutional law which manifests itself throughout the letters of Junius. Let us see then, whether the Governor himself cannot supply the deficiency; and whether he cannot, at the same time, exhibit a perfect identity of opinion with Junius, of those gentlemen with whom the practice, as well as the study, of the law, was a profession. The reader, however, will bear in mind, that while Junius chose to remain unknown, and was, therefore, fearless of personal consequences, his bitter invectives were shot forth without restraint of any kind, save his own sense of propriety; but, when he appeared as Governor Pownall, *in propria persona*, they were kept within reasonable bounds, by the presence, actual or assumed, of their objects, — by the conventional rules of society in general, and of the House of Commons in particular, when engaged in his parliamentary duties; and, moreover, it must not be forgotten, that as Junius took every precaution to forbid his becoming known, he would, as Governor Pownall, most sedulously avoid every peculiarity of expression, every mode of argument, every turn of thought, that could, by

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possibility, lead to the supposition that he and the Governor were identical.

In a debate in the House of Commons, on a proposed address to the King, on the disturbances in America, May 8, 1770, Governor Pownall said, — "I ought here, Sir, and I do beg leave, to make apology to the gentlemen of the long-robe in this House, for taking upon me to state a point of law, and desire their indulgence whilst I endeavour to do it. Law hath neither been my study, nor was it my profession ;¹ and yet, Sir, that law which respects the state of our constitution, ought to be the study of every gentleman, who, by his situation, may have any share in the deliberative or executive part of the community. That law, which respects the state and powers of the crown, was my study : because, being commissioned by his Majesty to execute his royal powers as his governor, it was my duty to act according to it : and, so far, Sir, I will consider it as my profession."² In the following November, in a debate in which he combated the ministerial position — "that the attorney-general's power of filing in-

¹ In his *Administration of the Colonies*, p. 90, he says,—“I am no lawyer, and do not therefore presume to give an opinion of decision, but venture to affirm, that, etc.”—This is very nearly the language of Junius, in his *Preface*,—“I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read, than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country.” Vol. i. 350.

² Hansard, v. xvi. 988.

formations *ex officio*, is a legal, fundamental, constitutional power, exercised in the King's Courts invariably, and of time immemorial," — he said, — "But it can never be proved, the most learned of the long-robe have not proved, and cannot prove, that any such proceeding ever was admitted, as established in the Court of King's Bench, till the period of the establishment of the Star-chamber, in Henry the VIIth's time. Since that period, there do exist some precedents, but prior to that period they cannot produce one" — [Here some gentlemen in large full-bottomed wigs shook their heads; as much as to say. — he is wrong, totally wrong. This gave fresh spirit to the callers for the question, and the clamour began again. Mr. Pownall, however, continued, by saying] — "that authoritative shaking of the head may have effect where those wigs are to give weight to judgment, but they give no force nor weight to argument. If I am wrong, convict me. I call upon you to prove the contrary. The conviction of my error may produce truth. I challenge those gentlemen to the proof. Until the contrary is proved, I will affirm, that this proceeding by information *ex officio* is directly contrary to our constitution; is not known to our common law; is not authorized by our statutes; is at best an usurpation of the Court whenever practised; crept in from the habit of exercising it according to civil law proceedings in the Star-chamber; and when that cursed court

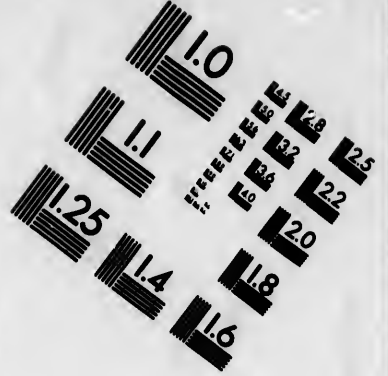
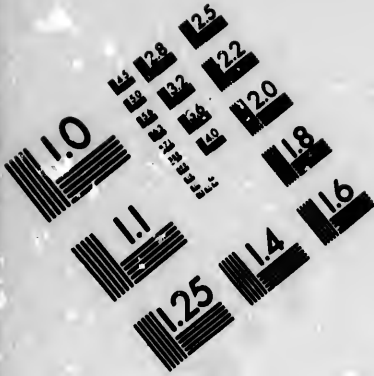
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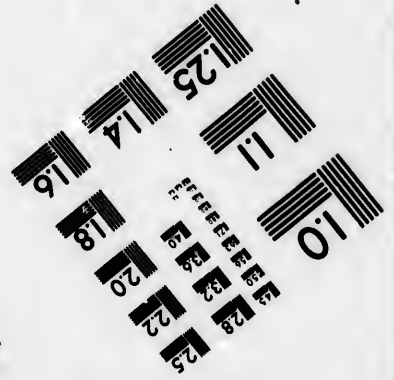
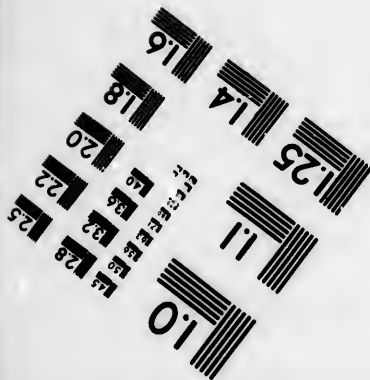
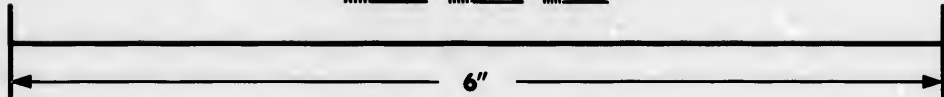
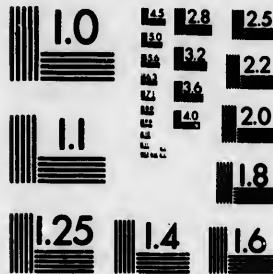
was abolished, was left as a bitter layer of it, which had struck its poisonous root in the King's Bench." ¹ We have designedly made this extract longer than is strictly needful, and we again, occasionally, may do the like; but our purpose in so doing will not, we trust, be unappreciated by the reader: it is to the end of showing, that Governor Pownall's language is not wanting in the energy, decision, and clearness of style that are so remarkable in the acknowledged letters of Junius. Another extract, and the last, on this point, will show, still more prominently, how much his contemptuous opinion of lawyers coincided with that of Junius. It is from a speech reported in *Hansard's Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXI. p. 249. Governor P. said,—" . . . that he had attended to the reasoning of gentlemen on this subject, with that respect which their characters and their opinions deserved, and to the

¹ Hansard, v. xvi. 1173 et seq.:—There is much in this extract like the following from Junius's *Letter XVI.*, July 19, 1769, vol. i., 516. "I will venture to affirm, 1st, That there is no statute existing, by which that specific disability, which we speak of, is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end. 2dly, That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons which comes entirely home to the present case, viz.: If there be such a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am sure it will have more weight than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities." See also, Letters XLIV. and LXVIII., in vol. ii., pp. 215 et seq., and 409.





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law-reasoning of professional gentlemen with all the caution that their arguments and opinions required; that he was founded upon the judgment of one of the ablest advocates, one of the first orators, one of the greatest politicians, in declaring, that the profession, from a habit, always contracted in the practice, had a natural tendency to form the mind to an undecided, vague habit of thinking, and an academic sceptic habit of reasoning. Cicero was the authority referred to, who confessed this of himself in express and direct terms, that while he wrote as an academician, he could be a stoic on one side of the question, and an epicurean on the other."

To the extracts from the letters of Junius, already given, to show that he was not a lawyer, we add the following one, from the *Letter LXVIII.*, to Lord Mansfield, dated Jan. 21, 1772, — and then, we trust, the reader will admit, that our proof of the identity, in opinion, of Governor Pownall and Junius, on that score, is complete. — "To prove the meaning and intent of the legislature will require a minute and tedious deduction. To investigate a question of law demands some labour and attention, though very little genius or sagacity. As a *practical profession*, the study of the law requires but a moderate portion of abilities. The learning of a pleader is usually upon a level with his integrity. The indiscriminate defence of right and wrong contracts the understanding,

while it corrupts the heart. Subtlety is soon mistaken for wisdom, and impunity for virtue. If there be any instances upon record, as some there are undoubtedly, of genius and morality united in a lawyer, they are distinguished by their singularity, and operate as exceptions.”¹

Reverting to the commencement of Governor Pownall's services in parliament, in 1767, we shall now endeavour to show such a general affinity of opinion between him and Junius, as shall cast into the shade all minor differences;—the latter, indeed, being, in no instance that we have yet met with, greater than the most consistent politician will exhibit, at different times, in the course of a few years, when speaking on the same—or a kindred subject; such differences arising from a change—sometimes in the circumstances attendant upon, or relative to the subject,—and at others, being derived either from the speaker, or from his audience.

Governor Pownall's first speech in parliament was delivered on the 15th of May, 1767, in opposition to a motion for bringing in a bill for suspending the Assembly of New York. His introduction of himself—if we may so speak—is characteristic of the man:—“ However clear and distinctly these matters may lie in my own mind, in the strongest form of conviction,

¹ Vol. ii. 412.

yet, being unaccustomed to speak in public, I am afraid I shall be unable so to dispose and explain them, as to exhibit the same distinctness, and to convey the same conviction to others. This being the first time I have presumed to speak in this House, I feel that kind of awe in the presence of it, which every one must feel, who compares the little importance of his own sentiments, with the experience, the knowledge, and the wisdom of so great an assembly;¹ so that instead of finding myself master of my own sentiments and opinion, I feel as if I had risen only to experience my own insufficiency. But the indulgence of the House gives me encouragement, that they are willing to hear and receive what I can say on this subject. And indeed, it is not only from the situation in general in which I stood, and the relation which I have borne to the business of America, which seems to render it proper that I should not give a silent vote upon this occasion; but the particular manner in which I have been concerned in this particular business, does especially call upon me to give my opinion on the matter now under debate."²

As this extract refers to the subject of the colonies, and their relation to the mother-country,

¹ The House of Commons is twice called a *great assembly*, in *Misc. Lett.* liii. vol. iii. 193 et seq.

Hansard's Parl. Hist. xvi. 331.

we shall make it the first one in the order of subjects to be submitted to the reader's judgment.

We must confess, that our earliest cursory comparison of the opinions of Governor Pownall, on this subject, as they are to be found spread through his speeches in parliament, — his *Administration of the Colonies*, — and his *Three Memorials, etc.*, with those contained in the three volumes of G. Woodfall's *Letters of Junius*, was any thing but encouraging; inasmuch as, in many respects, they appeared to be at variance. The variance, however, being only to be traced in the *Miscellaneous Letters*, and many of these having confessedly been admitted into the collection, as genuine productions of the pen of Junius, upon little or no other ground than the bare opinion of Dr. Good, that "the manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic, exprobratory style"¹ of them sufficiently identified, and therefore entitled them to the admission, we deemed the *Miscellaneous Letters*, with some exceptions, to be of too doubtful origin to be allowed to serve as tests of the opinions of their reputed author, expressed in his avowed and undoubted writings. Common justice to Junius, and a due regard to truth, therefore, demanded, that the sources from which his opinions should be drawn, should be restricted to his own authorized collection, — and to his pri-

¹ Prel. Essay, vol. i. 14.

vate letters to Woodfall and Wilkes respectively; to which may be added—the letter to Lord Chatham, dated January 14, 1772, published in the *Chatham Correspondence*. The *Miscellaneous Letters* can only be used with safety, when they coincide in opinion with the avowedly genuine letters:—in such cases, the opinion, and the style or expression, taken together, form presumptive evidence of their being genuine. Junius, himself, may be said to claim to be tried upon this equitable principle, in the following passage:—“But he (*Horne*) asserts that he has traced me through a variety of signatures. To make the discovery of any importance to his purpose, he should have proved, either that the fictitious character of JUNIUS has not been consistently supported, or that the author has maintained different principles under different signatures.—I cannot recall to my memory the numberless trifles I have written;—*but I rely upon the consciousness of my own integrity, and defy him to fix any colourable charge of inconsistency upon me.*”¹

The result of pursuing the investigation on the principle here enunciated, has proved highly satisfactory; as showing, in some instances, no material difference,—and, in the generality, a perfect homogeneity of opinion between Junius and Governor Pownall. The inquiry has also led to

¹Letter liv. vol. ii. 306.

the discovery, that a double error, if we may so term it, has hitherto prevailed with regard to both Junius and Governor Pownall; and *that* has been the chief means of shielding the latter from the suspicions of those persons who were in search of the former. Both have been looked upon as *party-men*; whereas — both were, as we shall prove, independent of every *party*; although the circumstances of the times, and the loose political principles and conduct of the leading men in power, generally — nay, almost always — ranged them with the opponents of the ministry for the time being: — thus, both Junius and Governor Pownall will be found, at one and the same time, opposing the ministry in their measures against the colonies, and the party in parliament who assumed to be the “patrons of America,” in their encouragement of the colonists to measures tending to neutralize, in the colonies, the supreme legislative power of the British parliament, and, as a consequence, to establish their independence of the mother-country; — and yet, both of them, admitting, with the ministry, the *theory* of the absolute supremacy of the British legislature over the colonies! Again, — Governor Pownall, from being no party-man, and, at times, fighting almost single-handed in the House of Commons, is often confounded with the *patrons*, although he strongly advocated whatever measures tended to the restoration of peace between the colonists and the mo-

ther-country, and to the diverting them from their *notions* of rebellion, as a step to independence; and he continued so to do,—and, if Junius had continued so long to write, he would have done the same — until their independence became *fixed as fate*,¹ by the publication of their celebrated declaration, in which Governor Pownall saw clearly the *vestigia nulla retrorsum*; therefore, he was one of the first to urge upon the home government and parliament, the policy of immediately recognizing America as, both *de facto* and *de jure*, one of the independent nations of the earth; and of forming with her, as such, a treaty of peace and commerce; a measure which the more clear-sighted politicians of the French cabinet had already secured. Junius, also, has been represented as a bitter enemy of the Americans, and a bigoted advocate of the mother-country's tyranny towards them;² propositions which — in no sense — can find support in his *avowed* writings.

We have said that *Junius* was no party-man. This will be admitted by every one who reads his letters with an understanding mind, and a capability of distinguishing between arguments based on unerring principles, and arguments merely formed to meet the exigency of the moment, or to support an arbitrary line of policy;

¹ Gov. P.'s *Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe*, p. 5.

² Lord Brougham's sketch of Lord Mansfield.

and is thus clearly shown by Dr. Mason Good, in his preliminary essay:—"Junius has been repeatedly accused of having been a party-man, but perhaps no political satirist was ever less so. To Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne he was equally indifferent, except in regard to their public principles and public characters. In his estimation the cause alone was every thing, and they were only of value as the temporary and accidental supporters of it. 'Let us employ these men'—says he—'in whatever departments their various abilities are best suited to, and as much to the advantage of the common cause, as their different inclinations will permit. . . . If individuals have no virtues, their vices may be of use to us. I care not with what principle the new-born patriot is animated, if the measures he supports are beneficial to the community. The nation is interested in his conduct. His motives are his own. The properties of a patriot are perishable in the individual, but there is a quick succession of subjects, and the breed is worth preserving.'¹ It was in this view of the politics of the day, that he privately cautioned his friend Woodfall, 'to be much upon his guard against *patriots*;'² and in the consciousness of possessing a truly independent spirit, that he boasted of being 'dis-owned, as a dangerous auxiliary, by every *party*

¹ Lett. lix. vol. ii. 346, and 356 et seq. ² No. 44, vol. i. 238.

in the kingdom,'¹ his creed not expressly com-
porting with any single party-creed whatever."²

We have said that *Governor Pownall* was no party-man. In proof of this, we confidently appeal to his whole parliamentary career, as it appears in the pages of Hansard's *Parliamentary History*. It will be there seen, that it was *because* of his independent spirit, and that he would not attach himself to any *party*, nor support any measure from *party* motives, that he could not command that influence in the House of Commons which his extensive knowledge — his experience — his ability as a debater — his integrity of character, entitled him to. It was then — as it now is, and no doubt ever will be — in parliament, the inevitable consequence of being of no party, or independent. The independence and ability of such a member, in fact, neutralize his wisdom and integrity. This was deeply felt by Governor Pownall, and, on several occasions, he gave expression to the feeling. As instances, — on the 20th of February, 1775, in a debate on Lord North's proposition for conciliating the differences with America, he said — "Yet taking up the matter on the ground whereon it now stands, without consideration of that influence, either of persons or things, that has caused this effect; without looking into the conduct of vari-

¹ Lett. xliv. vol. ii. 205.

² Vol. i. 79.

ous sets of men, and various ministers, with whom I never had any connection, and with whom I never shall form any; having stood, and being determined to remain unconnected with all parties; speaking my own private sentiments, looking to things and not to men, I act from my own principles."¹—and in a debate on the 2d of December, 1777, on Mr. Fox's motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation,—he said, (after having read a resolve of the Congress of the United States, dated Dec. 30, 1776, expressive of 'their determination, at all events, to maintain their independence,')—"Here, what terms will the gentlemen in government, on their side of the House, offer? What terms will the gentlemen on the other side desire to meet these propositions? Will they also make the artful and insidious representation of the disposition of the Americans? I know, that what I have said, and what I shall say further, will displease gentlemen on both sides; but I have no managements to keep, either with individuals or parties of men: I have none to oblige, I have none to fear. On occasions like this, I shall look not to men, but to things; and, etc. . . . That the House may not think that I am hazarding opinions, and talking at random, I will beg to remind them, that nine years ago, in the years 1768 and 1769, when you

¹ Hansard, v. xviii. 323.

were beginning the quarrel that has brought on this horrid and destructive war, I did¹ explain to the House, not in general words, but by a particular detail, the state and circumstances of America, and its inhabitants; and from thence described the issue of this business literally and precisely as it has turned out in every event to this great and interesting one. There was nobody, at that time, who knew so much of the matter as myself; and I thought it my duty at that time; I spoke out, without management or reserve. The House did not care to believe it, and were less willing to hear it: I was not well heard, yet it was true; it has proved true in almost every iota. When, upon your sending troops to Boston, the Americans were driven to war, I first informed this House, and I believe Government also, that the Americans were not unprepared to meet any event; that they had foreseen what must come, and were prepared both in civil as well as military arrangements, to conduct their own affairs, and to resist your measures. I then informed the House of their having planned and modelled an army: the House did not care to understand, though they did not disbelieve me."²

¹ See *Junius*, vol. i. 236, "I did never question your understanding;" and other instances in vol. ii. 264, 376, 379, 390, 425, etc.

² Hansard, xix. 525.

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In the *General Preface* to his *Three Memorials*, written in 1782, and published, with a new edition of the latter, in 1784, he says, — “Whether the part which I afterwards took as a member of parliament be known or understood, is of no consequence; for being such as answered not the purposes of *any party*¹ of men, it rendered not only my conduct, but myself of no consequence in my native land. *Paulum sepultæ distat inertæ celata* — before I decided upon holding this conduct, I had settled it with myself to be content in insignificance, and I have repeatedly gloried in this my state of insignificance: Upon² the winding up of the late great revolution in the empire, I enjoy from hence a more real and solid happiness than all the emoluments and honours of Government could create in me.” A page or two after, and in reference to his speech from which the above extract is taken, he says, — “The treating with the States in Congress, as sovereign and independent, was a point *sine quo non*: And no other treaty than a *fæderal one* was practicable. . . . I announced it in parliament, and recommended (*the first time that any such idea was ever*

¹ The *italics* are his own.

² On closing a sentence with a *colon*, it is not usual to begin the first word of the succeeding sentence with a capital letter, unless the word be a proper name; but Gov. P. frequently does so; and so does Junius. See instances in vol. ii. 158, 246, 343, 356, 364, 469, etc.

announced there) A FEDERAL TREATY with America. This was novel, and so contrary to the wisdom of our government, that Ministers, though they dared not touch the argument in parliament, called it in the Cabinet, *a wild notion*. Not answering, at that moment, the purposes of party, it was equally neglected by the opposition, and I found myself alone:” — and, in the *preface* to his *Memorial to the King*, with reference to himself, and writing in the third person, he says, — “ — conscious that he was known, both in England and America, known by his insignificance, never to have written, spoken in parliament, or acted in any one instance, *on party grounds*, in this great question respecting America,” etc. In the *Administration of the Colonies*, first published in 1764, he shows the same independence of party: — “ My present situation, by which I stand unconnected with the politics of ministry, or of the colonies, opens the fairest occasion to me of giving to the public, whom it concerns, such an impartial, uninfluenced opinion, of what I think to be the right of things, as I am convinced the following sheets contain. I know what effect this conduct will have, what it has had, on this work and on myself. I may be thought, neither by the ministry nor the colonists, to understand the subject, — the one may call this the vision of a theorist, the other will represent the doctrine which it contains, as the prejudices of power and ambi-

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tion. The one may think me an advocate for the politics of the colonies, the other will imagine me to be an evil counsellor against the colonies to the ministry: But as I know that my aim is, without any prudential view of pleasing others, or of my own interest, to point out and to endeavour to establish an idea of the true interest of the colonies, and of the mother-country as related to the colonies, I shall equally disregard what varies from this on the one hand, and reject what deviates from it on the other."

We have said, in substance, that both Junius and Governor Pownall were opposed to the ministry in their measures against America, and yet were with them, and in opposition to the *patrons of America*, in maintaining the theory of the absolute supremacy of the British legislature over the colonists. In his first letter, dated Jan. 21, 1769,¹ Junius says, — "A series of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. . . . He (Mr. Grenville) thought it equitable that those parts of the Empire, which had benefited most by the expenses of the war, should contribute something to the expenses of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise that contribution. But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any

¹ Vol. i. 394, Letter i.

rate to be distressed, because he was minister, and Mr. Pitt¹ and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declarations gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other. Under one administration the stamp-act is made; under the second it is repealed; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances, a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hillsborough called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his despatches, as far as they have appeared, let his measures, as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory

¹ Yet JUNIUS has been called the partisan of Lord Chatham!
Note by Junius.

of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition,¹ which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question, if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional, an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his Lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support the Earl of Hillsborough's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation. . . . In one view behold a

¹ That they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it. *Note by Junius.*

nation overwhelmed with debt; her revenues wasted; her trade declining; the affections of her colonies alienated; etc.”¹

In *Letter XXXV., Dec. 19, 1769, (Address to the King)*: — “The distance of the colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government, as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between *you* and your ministers. They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the Crown: They pleased themselves with the hope that their Sovereign, if not favourable to their cause, at least was impartial. The decisive, personal part you took against them, has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds. They consider you as united with your servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Sovereign and a venal parliament on one side, from the real sentiments of the English people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might possibly receive you for their King; but, if ever you retire to America, be assured they will give you such a covenant to digest, as the presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the Second. They left their native land in search of freedom,

¹ Vol. i. 401.

and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree:— they equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop. It is not then from the alienated affections of Ireland or America, that you can reasonably look for assistance; still less from the people of England, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great question are parties against you.”¹

In *Letter XXXIX., May 28, 1770*: —“Neither the general situation of our colonies, nor that particular distress which forced the inhabitants of Boston to take up arms in their defence, have been thought worthy of a moment’s consideration. In the repeal of those acts, which were most offensive to America, the parliament have done every thing, but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to preserve the contention. It is not pretended that the continuation of the tea-duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the mother-country. What is it then but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a speculative right, and *fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans*, without service to their masters? But it has pleased God to give us a ministry and a parlia-

¹ Vol. ii. 76, 77.

ment, who are neither to be persuaded by argument, nor instructed by experience."¹

In *Letter LIX*, Oct. 5, 1771,—“When *Lord Chatham* affirms, that the authority of the British legislature is not supreme over the colonies, in the same sense in which it is supreme over Great Britain;—when *Lord Camden* supposes a necessity (which the King is to judge of), and, founded upon that necessity, attributes to the crown a legal power (not given by the act itself) to suspend the operation of an act of the legislature,—I listen to them both with diffidence and respect, but without the smallest degree of conviction or assent. . . . *Lord Hillsborough* wisely confines *his* firmness to the distant Americans. . . . I should be sorry to revive the dormant questions of *Stamp-act*, *Corn-bill*, or *Press-warrant*. . . . The spirit of the Americans may be an useful example to us.”²

In *Letter LXIV*, Nov. 2, 1771,—(Junius’s opinion had been mistaken, or misrepresented, and he set it right by this *declaration*):—“JUNIUS considers the right of taxing the colonies, by an act of the British legislature, as a *speculative* right merely, never to be *exerted*, nor ever to be *renounced*. To *his* judgment it appears plain, ‘That the general reasonings which were employed

¹ Vol. ii. 147.

² Vol. ii. 350-357.

against that power, went directly to our whole legislative right, and that one part of it could not be yielded to such arguments, without a virtual surrender of all the rest.'"¹

In *Letter No. 66, to Wilkes, Sept. 7, 1771*: — "As to taxing the Americans by their own representatives, I confess I do not perfectly understand you. If you propose that, in the article of taxation, they should hereafter be left to the au-

¹ Vol. ii. 393. The opinion, on this subject, of a statesman like Canning, stamped with the approval of Sir Robert Peel, may not be deemed inopportune here. We give it as we find it, with the introductory remark, in a note on page 39, of the first volume of the interesting "*Life and Correspondence of JOSEPH REED, Military Secretary to Washington, etc.*," by his grandson — our respected and learned friend — William B. Reed, Esquire, of Philadelphia: — "In contrast," says Mr. Reed, "with the blind fanaticism of British statesmanship at this period (1766), I cannot refrain from alluding to the tone of debate on a recent occasion in Parliament. In 1834, on the Jamaica bill, Sir Robert Peel cited with warm approval Mr. Canning's doctrine on this subject of parliamentary supremacy over colonies. — 'I will only say that no feeling of wounded pride, no motive of questionable expediency, nothing short of real, demonstrative necessity, shall induce me to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of Parliament over every dependency of the British crown. That transcendental power is an arcanum of empire, which ought to be kept back within the penetralia of the Constitution. It exists, but it should be veiled. It should not be produced on trifling occasions, or in cases of petty refractiousness, or temporary misconduct. It should be brought forward only in the utmost extremity of the state, when other remedies have failed to stay the raging of some moral or political pestilence.' (*Hansard*, vol. xlvi. p. 767.) This was not the tone in 1765 and 1774."

thority of their respective assemblies, I must own I think *you had no business to revive a question which should, and probably would, have lain dormant for ever.*¹ If you mean that the Americans should be authorized to send their representatives to the British parliament, I shall be contented with referring you to what Mr. Burke has said upon this subject, and will not venture to add any thing of my own, for fear of discovering an offensive disregard of your opinion. Since the repeal of the stamp-act, I know of no acts tending to tax the Americans, except that which creates the tea-duty; and even that can hardly be called *internal*. *Yet it ought to be repealed, as an impolitic act, not as an oppressive one.* It preserves the contention between the mother-country and the colonies, when every thing worth contending for is in reality given up.”²

And lastly, — in *Letter No. 79, to Wilkes, Nov. 6, 1771*: — “My American namesake³ is plainly a man of abilities, though I think a little unreasonable, when he insists upon more than an absolute surrender of the fact. I agree with him that it is a hardship on the Americans to be taxed by the British legislature; but it is a hard-

¹ Junius had previously said, in the same letter (p. 279), — “There are questions which, in good policy, you should never provoke the people in general to ask themselves.”

² Vol. i. 293.

³ Dr. Lee, who wrote under the signature *Juntus Americanus*.

ship inseparable *in theory* from the condition of colonists, in which they have voluntarily placed themselves. If emigration be no crime to deserve punishment, it is certainly no virtue to claim exemption; and however it may have proved eventually beneficial, the mother-country was but little obliged to the intentions of the first emigrants. But, in fact, change of place does not exempt from subjection:—the members of our factories settled under foreign governments, and whose voluntary banishment is much more laudable with regard to the mother-country, are taxed with the laws of consulage. *Au reste*, I see no use in fighting this question in the newspapers, nor have I time. You may assure Dr. Lee, that to *my heart and understanding, the names of American and Englishman are synonymous, and that as to any future taxation of America, I look upon it as near to impossible as the highest improbability can go.*"¹

The preceding extracts are made thus full, in order that the reader may, at a glance, judge for himself, whether they exhibit any thing on which to found the oft repeated accusation—already alluded to—that Junius was a bitter enemy of the colonies, and a bigoted advocate of the mother-country's tyranny towards them. We do not hesitate in answering for him in the negative. Yet,

¹ Vol. i. 330.

the extracts contain all — except a few unimportant sentences — that is to be found relating to the colonies, in the *avowed* writings of Junius, including his private letters to Wilkes; and consequently, all upon which the accusation can, with justice to Junius, be based.

In evidence of the coincidence of Governor Pownall's opinions with those of Junius, expressed in the above extracts, we begin by referring to the dedication of the fourth edition of his *Administration of the Colonies*, to the Right Honourable George Grenville; which dedication must have been written, and published, only a few months before the first letter of Junius made its appearance in *The Public Advertiser*. "You had conceived" — wrote Gov. P. — "that government hath a right to avail itself in its finances, of the revenues of all its dominions; and that the imposing [upon the Colonies] taxes by parliament, for that purpose, was the constitutional mode of doing this. The colonists, who were not represented in parliament by knights, and burgesses of their own election, 'did apprehend, they had reason to fear some danger of arbitrary rule over them, when the supreme power of the nation had thought proper to impose taxes on his Majesty's American subjects, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue, and without their consent.' Parliament had, by a solemn act, declared, that it hath a right to make laws

which shall be binding upon the people of the Colonies, subjects of Great Britain, *in all cases whatsoever*, — while the colonists say, *in all cases which can consist with the fundamental rules of the constitution*; by which limitation, they except the case of *taxation*, where there is not *representation*. Hence the colonists have, by many, been deemed factious, undutiful and disloyal; and even chargeable with treason itself.

“ It is a great pity that questions of this nature were ever raised, *‘for, it is a very unsafe thing in settled governments, to argue the reason of the fundamental constitutions.’ — But when contrary propositions are alternately brought forward by the representatives of two people, as the avowed principles of their respective constituents; when an inferior government, which invariably acknowledges its dependence on a superior and supreme government, thinks it hath a right to call into question some particular exertions of power in that government, by rules which limit the extent of that power, it is absolutely necessary, either to decide such question, or to give such explanations

“* Comm. Journal, 1672.” *Note:* The asterisk is here placed, as it frequently is in other places, by Gov. Pownall, at the beginning of the passage quoted, instead of at the end, as is usually done. The same thing has been observed in the writings of Junius, that is to say, in his own edition of 1772. In G. Woodfall’s edition of 1814, the asterisk, or other note-mark, has, in general, been removed to the end of the quotation.

of the matter, that it may cease to be a question ;
. . . . — The matter is in that state, that it ought
to come before parliament ; it must ; it will ; — it
is necessary to the support of government that it
should ; — it is necessary to the security of the
nation and its interest ; — it is necessary to the
peace, liberties, and constitutions of the Colonies ;
it is necessary to the safety of ministers. . . .
I show that the colonies, although without the
limits of the realm, are yet in fact, *of* the realm ;
are *annexed*, if not yet *united* parts of the realm ;
are precisely in the predicament of the counties
palatine of Durham and Chester ; and therefore
ought, in the same manner, to be *united to the
realm*, in as full and absolute communication and
communion of all rights, franchises and liberties,
as any other part of the realm hath, or doth enjoy,
or ought to have and to enjoy : in communication
of the same burdens, offices, and emoluments ; in
communion of the same fœderal and commercial
rights ; in the same exercise of judicial and execu-
tive powers ; in the same participation of coun-
cil. — And that, therefore, in the course and pro-
cedure of our government with the Colonies, there
must arise a duty in government to give, a right
in the Colonies to claim, a share in the legislature
of Great Britain, by having knights and burgesses
of their own election, representing them in par-
liament.”

The following extracts are from Governor

Pownall's speech in the House of Commons on the 8th of February, 1769, on a proposed amendment to the address to the King before mentioned, when it was brought up with the report from the Committee.¹ Although all the extracts tend to support our proposition, yet they are a little more extended than is absolutely necessary, for the purpose of showing the identity of the Governor's style of thought and reasoning, with that of Junius.

“ On one hand you have your declaratory law — your revenue laws as the exertion of the declared right, — you have your commissioners to execute these laws — and the military to enforce this execution. On the other hand, the Americans do universally, invariably, and unalterably declare, that they ought not to submit to any internal taxes imposed upon them by any legislature wherein they have not representatives of their own election. On this principle, they oppose such taxes by their petitions and remonstrances ‘only, as yet,’ — but there is something threatening in the bad temper and ill blood which seems to be forced up — so that the issue is wellnigh brought to force. The people of that country and the King's troops are, as it were, set in array against each other. The sword indeed is not drawn — but the hand is upon it. The word for action is

¹ Hansard's Parl. History, v. xvi. p. 496 et seq.

not indeed yet given, but mischief is on tip-toe; and the slightest circumstance would in a moment throw every thing into confusion and bloodshed. And if some 'mode of policy' does not interfere to remove this exertion of military power — the union between Great Britain and North America is broken for ever — unless (which is worse) both are united in one common ruin.

“ Where the whole spirit and bent of a people, who have the powers of government within themselves, is fixed and determined against a tax — experience and common sense will convince you, that no civil power, no civil coercion, will ever assess or collect it. It will be found also in the trial, fact, that no military force can do this, — it never did, so long as the 'forms' only of government remained: it cannot assess or collect; it may raise a contribution by 'military execution' — but that is not 'government,' it is 'war.' . . .

“ . . . yet, if you attempt to force taxes against the spirit of the people there, you will find, when perhaps it is too late, that they are of a spirit which will resist all force; which will grow stronger by being forced; will prove superior to all force, and ever has been unconquerable: they are of a spirit to abide, nay, to court persecution: and if amongst other propositions which they have taken up, they should once take it into their heads that they are under a state of persecution, that spirit of enthusiasm which is of their temper,

and of their very nature, will arise, and every mischievous consequence, in every extreme will accompany it.¹ This spirit is not dead in them; it is only dormant; the utmost care and skill of those who lead them, either in civil or religious matters, is employed to restrain and keep it down. If this spirit should once take fire, (and believe me, Sir, it is in such a state of inflammability that the smallest spark would give it fire,) it will break out into a flame which no reason, no prudence, no force can restrain:² those who yet retain some lead, and have kept matters from running to extremities, to whom the people still listen, will either lose that lead, or will take the lead of this spirit when it shall be once gone forth; and if the ministers (whom we here call *the clergy*) once fall in with this spirit, — if the people once call upon them, they must take the lead; and if they do, the people (to use their own phrase) will

¹ "But I see the spirit which has gone abroad through the colonies, and I know what consequences that spirit *must and will* produce. If it be determined to enforce the authority of the legislature, the event will be uncertain; but if we yield to the pretensions of America, there is no further doubt about the matter. From that moment they become an independent people, they open their trade with the rest of the world, and England is undone." — Junius, *Misc. Letter XLV.*, Oct. 6, 1768. Vol. iii. 159.

² "This treatment of the colonies . . . will naturally *throw them all into a flame.*" — "The first act of his own administration was to impose that tax upon America, which has since *thrown the whole continent into a flame.*" — *Misc. Letters XLVIII. and LI.*, vol. iii. 173, 185.

be led by Moses and Aaron, by the civil and religious, under a bond of unity that no factions will divide, no force can break. The spirit of their religion, or if you please so to call it, of fanaticism, will, like Moses' serpent, devour every other passion and affection: their love for the mother-country, changing its nature, will turn to the bitterest hate; their affectation of our modes and fashions (the present source of great part of our commerce), will become an abomination in their sight.

“That spirit which led their ancestors to break off from every thing which is near and dear to the human heart; from every connexion which friendship, relation, blood could give; which led them to quit every comfort that a settled and civilized country (their own native country) could afford; and to encounter every difficulty and distress which a wild wilderness of savages could oppose to them, to struggle even for their existence;¹ that spirit, equally strong and equally inflamed, has but a slight and trifling sacrifice to make at this time; they have not to quit their native country, but to defend it; they have not to forsake their friends and relations, but to unite with and to stand by them, in one common union.

¹ Ten months after this speech was delivered, Junius wrote, in reference to the American colonists, — “They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert.” *Letter (to the King)* xxxv., Dec. 19, 1769, vol. ii. 77.

The only sacrifice they have to make is that of a few follies and a few luxuries. It is not necessity that is the ground of their commerce with you; it is merely the affection of your modes and customs; the love for *home*, as they call England, that makes them like every thing that comes from thence: but passion may be conquered by passion, and they will abominate as sincerely as they now love you; and if they do, they have within themselves every thing which is necessary to the food, raiment, or the dwelling of mankind, and have no need of your commerce. * * *

“ Truth lies in a very narrow compass. * * *

“ The ground that this business doth actually stand upon is this: you have now no internal taxes upon which questions may be raised or dispute arise with the Americans. You have no concessions to make, no repeals as to internal taxes. * * * there is not at present any intention of extending the exercise of our power to the laying internal taxes; nor will any future ministry (be they composed of whomsoever they may) ever venture to lay internal taxes. . . .

“ Let the matter of right rest upon the declaratory law, and say no more about it. It may be understood (as it is in the same words as in that respecting Ireland),—that it shall stand in the same line of administration— I say it may be so understood, and will be better understood by being never explained. Do nothing which may

bring into discussion 'questions of right,' which must become 'mere articles of faith.' Exert the spirit of policy, that you may not ruin the colonies and yourselves by exerting force."

The relative term *mother-country*, it will be observed, is used by Governor Pownall and Junius with equal familiarity; and in a manner which appears more natural to a colonist, or to one who has long resided in the colonies, than to one who — speaking or writing in England — has never been beyond "the four seas."

The following is from a speech of Governor Pownall, in April, (?) 1769, in support of his own motion for the repeal of the American revenue act.¹

"And first, of the sovereignty and supremacy of parliaments. That is a line from which you ought never to deviate, which ought never to be out of sight. The parliament hath, and must have, from the nature and essence of the constitution, has had, and ever will have, a sovereign supreme power and jurisdiction over every part of the dominions of the state, to make laws in all cases whatsoever; this is a proposition which exists of absolute necessity — its truth is intuitive, and need not be demonstrated, — and yet, there may be times and occasions when this ought to be declared and held forth to the eyes and notice

¹ Hansard, xvi. 612.

of the subject. Such was the time when the law declaring this power was made; it enacted nothing new; it declared no power that did not exist before; but it was like the hoisting your colours, the fixing your standard, to which all true patriots of this country might repair, under which they might arrange themselves, and to which the duty and obedience of all might be directed; and as you cannot, as you ought not, to give up the least, the most inconsiderable point of this right, of this power thus claimed, so ought you not, so can you not, lower these colours one inch, nor remove your standard for a moment.

“Although the declaratory law is no part of the superstructure of the edifice of our constitution, yet, Sir, it is a visible sign and symbol of its sovereignty affixed to it; and if ever any one, now it is so fixed as a symbol on the edifice, should attempt to erase or remove it, the whole edifice would fall to pieces.

“This, Sir, is my idea of the sovereignty of parliament; this is my idea of the law which declares it; and if I could think myself capable of proposing any thing which might derogate from this, even in an *iota*, I should not only think myself unworthy of being a member of this House, but even a member of the community. When, therefore, people say that when the colonies *recede*, the proper occasion will arise wherein the government of Great Britain may *concede*; I say

that occasion never can arise. Great Britain ought never to concede, if by those concessions are meant the giving up any of the rights or powers which are necessary to the supremacy and sovereignty; nor is it what the colonies either wish, desire, or expect. They only wish to hold under this supremacy those rights which they have hitherto enjoyed, and to exercise them in the manner in which they have been hitherto permitted to use them.

“ You have, in the plenitude of your power, not only rejected the petitions of the colonies, but you have renounced the principles which those petitions contain; and yet, they continue to obey to this hour. . . . Matters are now brought to a crisis at which they never will be again; if this occasion is now lost, it is lost for ever. If this session elapses with parliament's doing nothing, American affairs will perhaps be impracticable for ever after.— You may exert power over, but you can never govern an unwilling people;¹ they will be able to obstruct and pervert every effort of your policy; they will render ineffectual every exertion of your government, and will shut up every source, one after another, by which you should derive any benefit or advantage from them. . . . When we consider

¹ A little before he had said — “even despotism itself cannot command the will.”

this law as a measure of finance, the fact upon your table proclaims its insufficiency, for the sum returned, as its whole net produce, amounts but to £295, and a few shillings."

The act in question was the 7 Geo. III., cap. 46, imposing duties, on a variety of articles, in the colonies; and Governor Pownall's motion was, for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole to consider the act; when he purposed to offer certain propositions, declaring — that the act had a tendency to obstruct the vent of British manufactures and merchandise in the colonies, and to render the colonies less beneficial and advantageous to Great Britain; — that it had not answered its purport and intent of raising a revenue; — and that the repeal of the duties was, *upon commercial considerations alone*, highly proper and necessary. — "Every person seemed to agree with the motion; but the ministry complaining that the late time of the session would not allow a matter of so much consequence to be properly agitated, as they were not prepared for it, — a motion was made to put it off till next session."¹ In the next session (March 5, 1770), Lord North, after stating, that "it must astonish every reasonable man to think how so preposterous a law could originally obtain existence from a British legislature," moved for leave

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist., xvi. 622.

to introduce a bill, repealing all the duties, *except the duty upon tea*. This was resisted by Governor Pownall, because of the exception; and because also, that it kept "the preamble of the act as a yoke upon the neck of the Americans;" — he therefore moved, in amendment, for the entire repeal of the act of the 7 Geo. III. In the course of his speech he said, — "I feel, Sir, in a very sensible manner, the disadvantages under which any one rises in this House to speak on American affairs, if it be supposed that he means to speak in favour of the Americans. I am aware of, and wish I could obviate these prejudices, which prevent every argument offered in restraint to the exertion of the power of the House. I know that what I am now going to speak may be misconstrued, and imputed to party and to faction, wishing to profit of the uneasiness and disquiets which are raised in the minds of the subjects in America; so as to take such ground for the purposes of opposing and distressing administration, as must widen the breach now made between the two countries. . . . I am conscious, that in what I must necessarily say, it will be imputed to me, that I am stirring up the question of right, and taking part with the faction in America, against the sovereignty of this country: on the contrary, if there did not remain (after this act of the 7th of Geo. III. shall be repealed,) one act declaring the right of parliament, and another,

viz. the 4th of Geo. III., exerting that right, I would not now take the part I mean to take in this debate. If I saw that there could any thing possibly arise (these acts remaining) which could agitate that question, I would withdraw from this debate; because, whatever may be my opinion of the right, as now stated, I know it never will be decided by arguments, reasonings, resolutions, or even acts of parliament. It will be decided by power; and I know that we never shall have any power which we shall think reasonable to hazard by exerting — while the colonies will every day grow more and more into a capacity of disarming, if not of resisting that power: it is wise, therefore, that the question should remain, as it will, by the declaratory act, and the 4th of Geo. III. But this day's debate arises from a necessity of acting; as that necessity is derived from the simple fact of the suspension of your commerce, in consequence of an imprudent exertion of your power. . . . But why should I combat these reasons — they are the artificial, the ostensible reasons only. The true reason of making the distinction is — that by thus continuing the duty on tea, you preserve the preamble of the act, *you still keep the yoke about the neck of the Americans*; although you avow that you do not mean, you have not indeed any hopes, that you shall be ever able to make them draw in it." The amend-

ment being put, there were — yeas 142, noes 204 ; so it passed in the negative.¹

In the preceding session of parliament, namely, on the 26th of January, 1769, Governor Pownall played a very conspicuous part in “ the grand debate on the North American affairs,” as it is called in Hansard. It was on a motion for the concurrence of the Commons in certain resolutions, with an address to the King, relative to the proceedings of the House of representatives of Massachusetts Bay, and the riots in Boston, which had been sent down from the House of Lords. The speakers were Lord North, the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals (DeGrey and Dunning), Mr. Price, Mr. Hussey, and Mr. Dyson,² *for the question*; and Sir George Savile, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dowdeswell,³ Colonel Barré, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Beckford, Mr. Fuller, and Governor Pownall, *against it*. Although the debate is stated, in Hansard, to have been “ very fine indeed,” none of the speeches, but Governor Pownall’s, are reported; and, of that, the substance only of a part is given. *Inter alia*, “ he showed that the charge contained in the first resolution went upon a total mistake of the evidence brought to support it, so gross as to ac-

¹ Hansard’s Parl. Hist., xvi. 856–870, and 874.

² Junius’s *Jerry Dyson*, vol. i. 238, No. 44; and vol. ii. 131, lett. xxxviii.

³ Chancellor of the Exchequer during Lord Rockingham’s administration.

cuse the House of representatives at Boston, of coming to a positive resolution which had received its negative in that very House, and was not upon their journals, although the resolution proposed by the House of Commons referred to it as if really there existing. . . . Mr. *Dyson* endeavored to parry the objection, by referring to the amendment respecting the date of the Assembly's resolve. But *the Governor* still insisted that there was 'no such resolve existing;'— Mr. *Burke* hoped the ministry would not draw the House of Commons 'into a positive error in fact;'— . . . Mr. *Grenville* said, if there was any such resolution on the journals of the Boston Assembly, he desired it might be read. Others called out 'read—read.' This threw the whole bench of ministers and clerks into a most ridiculous confusion, as they could not, when now called upon, in the face of the House, find any such: the business of the House stood still; one side laughing, the other side in the most shameful perplexity, for more than a quarter of an hour. Under this state of perplexity, Mr. *Baker* moved, that the House should adjourn, to give the gentlemen time to produce their evidence. Governor *Pownall* then showed them how their mistake arose; but as they were not willing to own it, they rested on Mr. *Dyson's* amendment. And the chorus-men, who at proper times call for the question, helped them out at this dead-lift by an

incessant recitation of the word 'question, question, question.' At length, at four o'clock in the morning, the whole House in confusion, laughing, etc., the resolutions and address were agreed to. Upon which a member remarked, it was indecent to bring us resolves ready cut and dried, only for the drudgery of passing them: it was indecent to do it without evidence, and highly so to answer all arguments with—"the question!—the question!"¹ In this disgraceful treatment of a momentous question, that (to use the impressive language of Junius, in his first letter, published but five days previously), "in (its ultimate) effect divided one half of the empire from the other,"² we can see "ample room and verge enough," aye — and *excuse* too — for the subsequent conduct of Junius, in "coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament,"³ and particularly upon the House of Commons, and the individual members of the Cabinet.

In referring to Governor Pownall's work entitled — *The Administration of the Colonies*, we stated, that it was dedicated to the Right Honourable George Grenville; and every reader of the *Letters of Junius* has remarked, the respectful, and even laudatory terms in which Mr. Grenville is always therein mentioned. The LIIRD of the

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist., xvi. 485-487.

² Vol. i. 395.

³ Mr. Burke.

Miscellaneous Letters is addressed to him, and is the only letter in G. Woodfall's collection so addressed. Taking the avowed letters and the miscellaneous ones together, in the order of their dates, this letter will be found immediately to follow the first one of the latter which bears the signature JUNIUS,¹ and to precede the first in date of the former; their respective dates being — Nov. 21, and Dec. 15, 1768, and Jan. 21, 1769. This letter bears no signature; but, as it not only does not contain any thing in disaccordance with the acknowledged letters, but bears an intrinsic impress of being genuine, we do not hesitate to use it; and we do so the more readily, as it was on a chance perusal of the dedication of Governor Pownall's work, that this letter to Mr. Grenville suddenly crossed our mind; and the comparison of the two together, which immediately followed, led to the inquiry which has resulted in our sincere conviction, that in the author of the dedication we have discovered the mysterious and long-sought Junius.

If it be said, that the assertion of Junius, in his letter XVIII., — that he had “not the honour of being personally known to Mr. Grenville,”² — is repugnant to the fact of Governor Pownall's pre-

¹ There are only two others of the *Misc. Letters* signed JUNIUS, viz. LIV. and LIX., respectively dated April 12, and Sept. 7, 1769.

² Vol. i. 533.

vious dedication of his book to him, we would answer,—there is nothing in the dedication—at all events, in the one prefixed to the fourth edition of the book—that indicates whether Mr. Grenville's *permission* for the dedication to him was first obtained; and, even if it were, it does not follow that it was obtained upon such an introduction as would entitle Governor Pownall afterwards to say, that he was *personally* known to Mr. Grenville:—on the contrary, if asked for at all, the permission is more likely to have been obtained by letter, inasmuch as, at the time of the dedication of the first edition, Mr. Grenville was principal Secretary of State, and possessed of “a manner rather austere and forbidding,”¹—circumstances which, probably, did not tend to relax, even to an *ex-governor* of a colony, the aristocratic etiquette of that day, in regard to personal introductions. The letter in which the assertion of Junius is to be found, bears date the 29th of July, 1769; and we shall presently show facts from which it may reasonably be inferred, that Mr. Grenville and Governor Pownall did become personally known to each other, but at a later date.²

¹ Knox's *Extra-official state papers*, vol. ii.

² Since these pages were written, we have obtained a sight of the *fifth* edition of Governor Pownall's work, published in 1774, in two volumes, under the title of *The Administration of the BRITISH Colonies*; and find in the Appendix an extract of a letter from Mr. Grenville to Governor P., dated July 17, 1768; acknowledg-

We now give some extracts from the dedication and letter, respectively (both published within a few months of each other), premising — that as the differences of opinion alluded to in the former, did not prevent the dedication of the work to Mr. Grenville, so the respectful and laudatory notices of him by Junius did not forbid their entertaining opinions of a very opposite character; — witness Junius's stern denunciations of the measures against Wilkes, which were commenced by Mr. Grenville, — and his condemnation of the stamp act, to which Mr. Grenville had given birth. Our extracts are placed in juxtaposition, not under the idea of exhibiting in them any very close similarity of expression, or even of style; but as showing, in bolder relief, the strong likeness in thought and sentiment, as well as in appreciation of the merits of the party addressed.

Mr. Pownall's Dedication to the Right Hon. George Grenville, *Junius's Letter to the Right Hon. George Grenville, dated December 15, 1768: —*
in — or shortly before — July, 1768: —

“When I first published my opinions upon the administra- “If there be any thing im-
proper in this address, the sin-

ing the honour paid in the dedication to him of the fourth and preceding editions; but it contains no proof of the parties being *personally* known to each other. As the extract, however, is short, and contains Mr. Grenville's opinion on “the great question” of colonial representation in the Imperial parliament, recently (May 27, 1852,) revived in the House of Lords by the Earl of Harrowby, and favourably entertained by the Earl of Derby, we give it in the Appendix.

tion of the colonies, I addressed the book to you. You was then minister in this country, and had taken an active and leading part in the administration of those affairs. I did not by that address dedicate, as is the usual phrase, my opinions to the minister, for our opinions differed on several points: But as disputes upon a question, pregnant with the most dangerous consequences, began to be agitated between the minister of this country and the colonists, which I saw must soon extend themselves in contentions with parliament itself: As I saw a spirit of suspicion and alarm arising, a temper of ill blood infusing itself into the minds of men; I endeavoured to obviate these mischiefs, by marking in that address, that, as there were neither arbitrary intentions on one hand against the liberties of the Colonies, nor rebellious designs on the other against the just imperium of government; so there was a certain good temper and right spirit, which, if observed on all sides, might bring these matters of dispute to such a settlement as political truth and liberty are best established upon.

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 (The extract given on page 102.)

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 "I had been sufficiently con-

gularity of your present situation will, I hope, excuse it. Your conduct attracts the attention, because it is highly interesting to the welfare of the public, and a private man, who only expresses what thousands think, cannot well be accused of flattery or detraction. If we may judge by what passes every day in a great assembly, you already possess all the constituent parts of a minister, except the honour of distributing, or the emolument of receiving, the public money. These, in the contemplation of the present ministry, are the most essential ornaments of office. They are the *decus et tutamen* of a respectable administration, and the last that a prudent administration will relinquish. As for the authority, the credit, or the business of their offices, they are ready to resign them to you without reluctance. With regard to their appearance and behaviour within doors, these docile creatures find a relief in *your* understanding from the burthen of thinking, and in *your* direction from the labour of acting. This, however, is no more than the natural precedence of superior abilities and knowledge. Folly cannot long take the *pas* of wisdom; and ignorance, sooner or later, must submit to experience. Yet, considering what sort of heads you

versant in these affairs, although neither employed nor consulted in them, since I left America, to know that these alternate charges were false and groundless; that there were neither arbitrary intentions on one hand, nor seditious views on the other. As therefore, by my address, I meant to do justice to your principles, which I knew to be those of peace and government, established on political liberty, — so I took that occasion, as I will ever esteem it a duty to do, to bear my testimony to the affection which the colonists have ever borne to the mother country; to their zeal for its welfare; to their sense of government, and their loyalty to their sovereign; as also how much they have merited from this country, and how much they deserve to be considered by it; in order to put these matters of dispute on a footing of fair discussion, and equitable settlement.

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 (The extract given on page 103
 et seq.)

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 “Many matters therefore, the

have to deal with, the task of giving them instruction must be a heavy one. The triumph is hardly equal to the labour which attends it. To convey instruction into heads which perceive nothing, is as hard a task as to instil sentiments into hearts that feel nothing. In both these articles, I think, his Majesty’s present servants are invulnerable. They are of so strange a composition, that knowledge will neither penetrate the substance, nor shame stick upon the surface. They have one short remedy for every inconvenience, a remedy which tyrants make use of, and fools profess, without scruple or management. Force is their grand *arcantum imperii*. If this be the executive power of the crown, they possess and exert it to a miracle.¹ Red and brown makes all the difference. To Southwark the guards are detached in their uniforms; — to Brentford they march like gentlemen, with orders to change their colours in the blood of this country. This, Sir, is the last irresistible argument of kings; — the only one

1 “But why do I endeavour, under the discouragement which gentlemen give to any reasoning — any consideration of this matter; why should I endeavour to obtrude my poor reasoning so ill received? Why should I talk of adopting modes of policy, when the shorter way of the question and decision, *the short way of force*, seems already adopted?” — *Speech of Gov. P., Feb. 8, 1769; Hansard’s Parl. Hist., xvi. 500.*

publication of which I had suspended while I thought that this question might be waved, or some way compromised, I now publish in this edition. I continue my address, Sir, to you, now you are no longer minister, nor perhaps ever likely to be. I address myself to the private country-gentleman, who will always have a great share in the business of his country;—to Mr. George Grenville, as to one who hath, and always will have great interest, lead, and authority in parliament;¹ from an opinion really and deeply grounded in the minds of the most serious of his countrymen, that, while for the sake of the peace and liberties of the whole, he means to support the constitutional powers of government in the crown; so is he equally, by principle, determined, as by abilities able, to guard the civil rights of the subjects, with a peculiar regard to, and management of, their interests in their property.

“This American question, in which liberty and the rights of property are so deeply engaged, must now come forward. From the part which you have already taken, you must still bear a considerable part in the debates and consultations which will be held

which your abilities cannot answer, nor your integrity oppose with effect. In vain shall you demand an account of the most flagrant waste of public money. The ministry are sure of being protected by the ruffians who received it. The murder of His Majesty’s English subjects calls aloud, but calls in vain, for justice. To complain is dangerous, to prosecute might be fatal. We are arrived at that dreadful crisis at which open murders may well be succeeded by secret assassination. May heaven avert the omen!

“Your weight and authority in parliament are acknowledged by the submission of your opponents. Your credit with the public is equally extensive and secure, because it is founded on a system of conduct wisely adopted and firmly maintained. You have invariably adhered to one cause, one language; and when your friends deserted that cause, they deserted you. They who dispute the rectitude of your opinions, admit that your conduct has been uniform, manly, and consistent. This letter, I doubt not, will be attributed to some party friend, by men who expect no applause but from their dependents. But

¹ “The *honourable lead* you have taken in the affairs of America, hath drawn upon you the whole attention of the public.” — *Misc. Letter XXXV.*, Aug. 29, 1768, vol. iii. 105.

upon it. I therefore address, to your most serious consideration, that state of this business which the following book contains; nor will I despair of your assent to what so firmly establishes the rights of property, on the foundations of liberty, *by an equal extension and communication of government, to wheresoever the people and dominions, having these rights, do extend.* In the matters which I propose, I speak my own sentiments, not yours. I address them to your serious consideration, as I do to every man of business in the nation; with an hope, that from conviction of the justice, policy, and necessity of the measure, they may become the general sentiments of the government, and of the people, of Great Britain. From the same sentiments, and with the same view of general peace and liberty, I could wish to recommend the same propositions to the Americans. Nor would I despair of their assent to things, were there no jealousies of, no prejudices against men. I am convinced that these maxims are true in theory; and do sincerely believe, that they are the only principles by which the peace, the civil liberty, commercial prosperity and union of the British dominions, can be maintained and supported.

you, Sir, have the testimony of your enemies in your favour. After years of opposition, we see them revert to those very measures, with violence, with hazard and disgrace, which, in the first instance, might have been conducted with ease, with dignity and moderation.

“While parliament preserves its constitutional authority, you will preserve yours. As long as there is a real representation of the people, you will be heard in that great assembly with attention, deference, and respect; and if, fatally for England, the designs of the present ministry should at last succeed, you will have the consolation to reflect, that your voice was heard, until the voice of truth and reason was drowned in the din of arms; and that your influence in parliament was irresistible, until every question was decided by the sword.”

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I am no partizan—I do not palliate the *errors* of Great Britain—I do not flatter the *passions* of America. My zeal and many services towards the one, have appeared in the effect of those services; and my affection to the other, if it be not already known, will be seen; as, under the accident of a certain event, I mean to end my days there in a private character.

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 “May both the Briton and the American take this consideration to heart: and, whatever be the fate of parties and factions; of patriots or ministers; may the true government of laws prevail, and the rights of men be established in political liberty!

“With the highest esteem and regard, I have the honour to be, etc., etc.,
 T. POWNALL.”

On the 7th of March, 1770, Mr. Grenville submitted to the House of Commons, his plan for regulating the trials of controverted elections; his object in which was, as he had previously stated to Mr. Knox, the under Secretary of State, “to endeavour to give some check to the abominable prostitution of the House of Commons in elections, by voting for whoever has the support of

the minister, which must end in the ruin of public liberty, if it be not checked." The House thereupon — "Ordered, *nem. con.* — that leave be given to bring in a Bill to regulate the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in parliament: and that Mr. Grenville, the Marquis of Granby, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Whately, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Solicitor-General (Thurlow), *Mr. Pownall*, Mr. Thomas Townshend, jun., Mr. Burke, and Mr. Mackworth, do prepare, and bring in the same. The Bill was accordingly brought in on the 12th."¹ The debates upon it, between that date and the 2d of April, when it passed its third reading, occupy seventeen columns of Hansard's *Parliamentary History*; of which about one fourth are taken up by two of Governor Pownall's speeches in support of the measure. These speeches show him to have been an able leader, in answering objections to the bill, and proving both its constitutionality and its practical character. It passed the House of Lords without opposition, and received the royal assent on the 12th of April. Its duration was limited to seven years; but four years afterward, it was, with a few comparatively unimportant amendments, made perpetual; and thenceforward, in honour of its projector, it continued to be familiarly known, in parliament, and out of it, as "*The*

¹ Hansard, xvi. 906.

Grenville Act."¹ In the reports of the debates on the last occasion, Governor Pownall is not mentioned as a speaker, but his name is recorded in the list of the majority who voted in its favour. The Grenville Act was the last important public act of Mr. Grenville's life; — he died in November of the year in which it received the royal assent (1770). Historians have characterized it as "his last legacy to the nation;" and while the experience of the better part of a century justifies the expression, it likewise enhances the correctness of the opinion of Junius, of "the shrewd, inflexible judgment,"² the "superior abilities and knowledge,"³ and "the rectitude of the opinions"⁴ of Mr. Grenville; an opinion equally entertained by Governor Pownall, as we have already shown; and as again appears in one of the two speeches above-mentioned, in which he spoke of—"the great parliamentary knowledge of the right honourable proposer of this bill, supported by the authority and influence which his character, esteemed in all points, does give to every thing he proposes." It is somewhat remarkable, that in the *Letter XXXIX.*, dated *May 28, 1770*, in which Junius considers "in one view, the beginning, progress, and conclusion of the deliberations" of

¹ 10 G. III. c. 16, — 11 G. III. c. 42, — and 14 G. III. c. 15.

² Lett. xv., July 8, 1769, vol. i. 507.

³ Misc. Lett. LIII., Dec. 15, 1768, vol. iii. 193.

⁴ *Ib.* 195.

the two Houses of Parliament, in their then just-closed session, he makes no allusion whatever to *the Grenville act*, or to the part-opposition and part-discouragement offered to the measure by Lord North, and others of the ministry. One would think that Junius would not have let slip so favourable an opportunity of paying a graceful compliment to his favourite senator; and we can only account for the omission, by supposing that he feared, that *his* praise of Mr. Grenville, on that subject, might possibly excite the attention of the seekers for Junius towards the principal debater in the House of Commons, in support of the bill, namely, Governor Pownall. The only allusions made by Junius to the Grenville act, that we can, at the moment, call to mind, are — in Letter LIX., Oct. 5, 1771, — “ — this very House of Commons have graciously consented that contested elections shall for the future be determined with some decent regard to the merits of the case;”¹ — and in Letter LXI., Oct. 18, 1771, — “ Of the popular bills which you say he (Lord Mansfield) supported in the House of Lords, the most material is unquestionably that of Mr. *Grenville*, for deciding contested elections. But I should be glad to know upon what possible pretence any member of the upper house could oppose such a bill, after it had passed the

¹ Vol. ii. 359.

House of Commons?"¹ Slight as these allusions are, there is sufficient in them to prove identity of opinion, on the subject to which they have reference, between Junius and Governor Pownall.

The last quoted speech of the Governor, also furnishes material for identifying his opinion of juries with that of Junius. He said,—“that even in the midst of the most luxurious, unprincipled, profligate age, even in the very crisis, in the delirium of the fever of party rage, juries had preserved their faith and honour.”²

So Junius, in his *Preface*; — “If, from an unwarrantable distrust of the integrity of juries, they would wish to obtain justice by any mode of proceeding, more summary than a trial by their peers, I do not scruple to affirm, that they are in effect greater enemies to themselves, than to the libeller they prosecute. . . .

“It is not true that the temper of the times has, in general, an undue influence over the conduct of juries. On the contrary, many signal instances may be produced of verdicts returned for the King, when the inclinations of the people led strongly to an undistinguishing opposition to government. . . .

“The numerous instances, in our state trials, of verdicts recovered for the King, sufficiently refute the false and scandalous imputations thrown

¹ Vol. ii. 380. It is also mentioned, approvingly, in letter to Wilkes, No. 66, vol. i. 286, — and Misc. Letter LXXX., vol. iii. 290.

² Hansard, vol. xvi. p. 913.

by the abettors of *Lord Mansfield* upon the integrity of juries." ¹

Although the prominent position held by Governor Pownall in the passage of the Grenville bill through the House of Commons precludes all doubt of his having been, at that time, "personally known" to Mr. Grenville, yet it is evident that the knowledge had not yet ripened into intimacy; as, in the course of the debate, he did not once mention Mr. Grenville as his "Right honourable friend," — but — in cold respectfulness — as "the Right honourable proposer of the bill;" — thus showing a probability, that at the earlier date of the Letter of Junius, July 29, 1769, he indeed, as is therein stated, "had not the honour of being *personally* known to Mr. Grenville." ²

The next important debate in the House of Commons, in which Governor Pownall took part, is that which originated in the seizure by the Spaniards, on the 10th of June, 1770, of Falkland's Island; and on which a thorough accordance of opinion between him and Junius will appear manifest.

On the 22d of November, Mr. Dowdeswell, seconded by Governor Pownall, moved for an address to his Majesty for all papers, etc., on the subject. A very meagre account of the violent debate which ensued is given in Hansard's *Par-*

¹ Vol. i. pp. 352, 353, and 378.

² Lett. XVIII. vol. i. 533.

liamentary History (the only work of that description to which we have access). Governor Pownall, it is therein stated, "entered into the whole argument at large, with full knowledge of his subject. He showed the little utility a settlement upon Falkland's Island was to us, but having been once made, it could not be given up." The debate resulted in the rejection of the motion, by 225 votes against 101. On the following 25th of January, a *Declaration*, and an *Acceptance*, which, three days previously, had been signed at London, the former by the Prince de Maserano, Ambassador extraordinary from His Catholic Majesty, and the latter, by the Earl of Rochford, on behalf of his Britannic Majesty, were communicated to the two Houses of Parliament; and these were followed, on the 4th of February, in answer to a previous address, by forty-three letters and other papers connected with the subject. The whole were taken into consideration on the 13th of February, when Lord *Beauchamp*, seconded by Lord *Palmerston*, moved an Address to his Majesty, in approval of the *convention* (as the declaration and acceptance, taken together, were called); and Mr. *Dowdeswell*, seconded by Governor *Pownall* moved an amendment, to the effect of leaving out all but the first paragraph of the proposed address, whereby it would be reduced to mere thanks to his Majesty for his communication. The amend-

ment was lost on a division of 271 votes against 157. On the 5th of March, Governor Pownall, seconded by Mr. *Damer*, again brought the subject before the House, by a motion condemnatory of the acts of the ministers in relation to it. This motion also was defeated, by the votes of 130 members, against 43. The speeches of Governor Pownall on these two occasions, occupy — the first one nine — and the last one fourteen columns of Hansard's *Parliamentary History*. They are stated, in a foot-note; to have been taken "From a pamphlet published in 1771, entitled 'Two Speeches of an Honourable Gentleman on the late Negotiation and Convention with Spain,'" and, no doubt, underwent the Governor's corrections, before they were put to press. These speeches show a very clear and intimate knowledge of the subject, and a masterly mode of treating it; — many passages will vie with the best in the avowed letters of Junius. On reference to *the Chatham Correspondence*,¹ it will be seen, that Governor Pownall's motion of the 5th of March, had been, on the 20th of the preceding month, communicated by the Duke of Richmond to the Earl of Chatham; and by Mr. Dowdeswell to Colonel Barré, — the latter stating, that Mr. Dowdeswell "wished to bring it in — *under the auspices of Mr. Pownall* — in a day or two,

¹ Vol. iv. 93, 94 and 100.

if possible." The correspondence indicates a pre-concerted mode of action between the parties above named, and Governor Pownall, in regard to the Spanish convention, which Lord Chatham characterized as "the late infamous transaction."¹

There are two of the private letters of Junius to Woodfall, which bear reference to the Falkland's Island matter; namely, No. 28, Jan. 16, and No. 29, Jan. 31, 1771.² In the first one, Junius says — "You may assure the public that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with *all possible expedition* for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry. Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance *I* give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable." On the 13th of February, in the first of the above-mentioned two speeches, Governor Pownall detailed minutely the negotiation, which had resulted in the signing of the convention, *an hour only before the re-assembling of parliament after the Christmas recess.* After introducing the intervention of the King of France, Governor P. said, — "His Christian Majesty being thus vested with full powers from Spain, and matters being thus prepared in England, he forms the terms of the conclusion, and sends them hither to his minister, to

¹ Vol. iv. 94.

² Vol. i. 216, 217.

be communicated to the Spanish minister; but sends, at the same time, to M. de Guisne, a letter, ordering him to adhere closely and strictly to *the family compact*;¹ and if the Spanish minister should be recalled, to come away himself without delay. . . . These despatches arrived on the 14th of January. Prince Maserano, notwithstanding every deference to, and the most profound respect and reverence for his Christian Majesty, yet finds himself in a predicament of resisting those directions of the King of Spain" — (three grounds of difficulty are then stated). — "These difficulties lasted from this time to the 18th. On that day our ministry determined to give him satisfaction by remanding Mr. Harris back to Madrid. For which purpose, on that day, four or five messengers were sent different ways in order to meet him." — Better proof could scarcely be afforded of the strong ground upon which was based the information given by Junius to Woodfall, *only two days before the day on which the difficulties were removed*; while the minute, as well as extensive information on the subject, shown by Governor Pownall — a strong opponent of the ministry, and, consequently, not supposed to have access to the *inner* secrets of the Cabinet, is worthy of remark, and of being kept in remembrance, when weighing the evidence in

¹ Namely, between the Bourbons of France and those of Spain.

favour of the identity of the one with the other.

Two of the avowed letters of Junius, No.'s XLII. and XLIII.,¹ and one of the *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. LXXXVIII.,² respectively dated Jan. 30, and Feb. 6 and 13, 1771, relate to the Falkland's Island matter; and these together, when compared with Governor Pownall's treatment of the same subject before the House of Commons, exhibit a perfect identity of knowledge, opinion, style, and tone. The difference, indeed, between them, is only that which derives from the difference of the parties to whom they were respectively addressed. Junius's letters were intended for immediate effect upon the people at large, — he therefore appeals to their feelings and their passions; — Pownall's speeches were directed to the judgments of the — proportionately — better-educated — and, perhaps, less excitable — gentlemen of the House of Commons; — Junius was, necessarily, restricted to the space that could be afforded him in the columns of the newspaper in which he wrote, and he, therefore, in the statement of facts, limits himself to the more prominent points of the case, but still, in such a manner as to convince one that he is not ignorant of the minor details; — Pownall describes the case, *in extenso*, in the most regular order, and with

¹ Vol. ii. 182 and 195.

² Vol. iii. 324.

the greatest precision and minuteness ;—Junius's style is—what he himself calls it—*the ornamented stile*,¹ but impulsive and indignant ; while that of Pownall is thoroughly *business-like*, yet not devoid of ornament, nor wanting in indignancy and warmth of expression, whenever the occasion calls for it. As to *the matter*,—the three letters may be looked upon as an outlined sketch, which reappears in the speeches, with the last touches of the burine that has converted it into a finished engraving.

With only two more remarks, we shall pass onward in our march. The first is— that, in the second of the three letters, Philo-Junius, in answering an opponent, who fancied he had “surprised an outpost, and cut off a detached argument, a mere straggling proposition” in the first one, says—“Junius does not speak of the Spanish *nation* as the natural enemies of England. He applies that description, with the strictest truth and justice to the Spanish *Court*.” In the two speeches, Governor Pownall makes the same distinction,—“the Spanish *Court*,” or, “the *Court* of Spain ;” and never “the Spanish *nation*,”—nor, with a solitary exception, “the Spanish *government*.” The other remark is, that we have seen it somewhere observed as singular, that after the letter of the 13th of February, 1771, Junius

¹ Letter XXXI. vol. ii. 45.

never mentioned the Falkland's Island matter. The explanation will be found in the last of the two speeches; in which, in reference to the vote on the preceding debate, by which the House of Commons had approved of the convention with Spain, Governor Pownall said,—“ The matter being now decided, and peace between the crowns of Spain and Great Britain being now formally restored; and standing as it does, and must do for the future, on the basis of this convention, the execution of which is laid before us; it becomes the duty of every member of the community, and of every member of this House, to unite their aid and assistance, and advice also where that shall become proper, to give stability, security, and permanency to this foundation. If there be any thing which appears suspicious or defective, either in the ground on which it stands, or in the materials of which it is composed, it becomes a consequence of that duty, to point out that defect, so that it may be repaired, before it is too late;”—a principle which was the echo of the one that, previously and more concisely, had been thus expressed by Junius, in the *Miscellaneous Letter XXXI.*—“ I shall not enter into the question of right, because it has been already determined by the legislature, to which an Englishman still owes some degree of submission.”¹ The

¹ Vol. iii. 85.

above explanation will hold good, even if the two *Miscellaneous Letters, XC. and XCI.*, respectively dated Feb. 22, and March 6, 1771, and signed *Vindex*, be admitted to be genuine; inasmuch as these are merely explanatory of the others.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that the marriage, privately solemnized on the second of October, 1771, of the Duke of Cumberland (the King's brother), to Mrs. Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esquire, of Catton-hall, in the county of Derby, and daughter of Lord Ingham, greatly excited the indignation of Junius; who, in his Letter LXVII., of the following 28th of November, to the Duke of Grafton, spoke of it, as an "unnatural union, by which indefeasible infamy is attached to the House of Brunswick;" — and, a little farther on, — "Yet I confess I should be sorry that the opprobrious infamy of this match should reach beyond the family. — We have now a better reason than ever, to pray for the long life of the best of princes, and the welfare of his royal *issue*. — I will not mix any thing ominous with my prayers; — but let parliament look to it. — A *Luttrell* shall never succeed to the crown of England."¹ That Governor Pownall took a like interest in — and view of the subject, is evident. The marriage gave rise to the *Royal Marriage bill*, "for the better regulat-

¹ Vol. ii. 402 et seq.

ing the future marriages of the Royal family ;” which, following up the King’s message of the preceding day, was introduced into the House of Lords, by the Earl of Rochford, on the 21st of February, 1772. — “ The intended bill ” — says Junius, *next day*, to Woodfall, “. . . . will be a most dangerous innovation in the internal policy of this country.”¹ The assertion in the preamble of the bill, “ that marriages in the royal family are of the highest importance to the state, and that, *therefore*, the kings of this realm had ever been intrusted with the care and approbation thereof;” was objected to, as conveying too great a latitude of meaning : — but the objection being outvoted, the bill was hurried through the Lords, and sent down to the Commons on the 3rd of March. On the following 13th, the House being in committee on the bill, Governor Pownall moved, to leave out the above-quoted words, containing the assertion of the royal prerogative ; and — “ proposed to go into the subject immediately, as it was the foundation of the bill, and the rule for the provisions of it. Lord North, though it was not the general sense of the ministry, could not in candour refuse to accede to the proposition. The arguments to disprove the claim were the same as before ; but the extent of this prerogative was more particularly adverted to : it

¹ No. 56, vol. i. 250.

was shown how extensively this Bill must operate in a few ages, when, in the common course of things, so many of the nobility and gentry might be supposed to have acquired some share of the royal blood; that it would, in reality, be increasing the influence of the crown in the same manner as the court of Wards did formerly; as the consent of the King, or his minister, must be demanded for every such marriage; that the preamble, being a declaration, would also act retrospectively, as it would establish a doctrine of power which might be drawn against the late marriage of the Duke of Cumberland. The ministry, on the contrary, called it an harmless prerogative, which could have no retrospect, and which, when in full vigour, had no punishment annexed to the breach of it, and now would only be revived by the enacting penalties, which would have no retrospect. They then carried the claim by 200 votes against 164.”¹

Besides this action in parliament, Governor Pownall published, in the same year (1772), a book, entitled — “Considerations on the indignity suffered by the Crown, and dishonour brought upon the nation, by the marriage of H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, with an English subject, (4to.)”² The title alone (we have not seen the book) sufficiently shows, that Governor Pow-

¹ Hansard's *Parl. Hist.*, xvii. 419.

² *Watt's Bibl. Brit.*

nall and Junius were as one in opinion on the subject. We are much inclined to doubt the genuineness of the *Miscellaneous Letter CII.*, dated Nov. 13, 1771, and signed *Cumbriensis*,¹ relative to the marriage; although the last sentence in the private letter to Woodfall, No. 43, dated "About 15 Nov., 1771," is — "Cumbriensis has taken greatly."² The private letter is, manifestly, in answer to one from Woodfall, in which, we think it likely, Junius was asked — what effect the letter of Cumbriensis had had on the public mind; — and he answers — that it "has taken greatly." This answer neither implies that Junius *was* — nor that he *was not* Cumbriensis.

The following proceeding in the House of Commons, we adduce, as showing in Governor Pownall a watchfulness of the constitutional privileges of the House, not unworthy of Junius; and indeed, evoking the principle laid down by Junius, in his letter of Sept. 7, 1771, to Wilkes; viz. "A bill, which only touches the representation of the people, must originate in the House of Commons, in the formation and mode of passing it. *The exclusive right of the Commons must be asserted as scrupulously as in the case of a money bill.*"³

On the 14th of April, 1770, Governor Pownall moved a series of twelve resolutions, and intro-

¹ Vol. iii. 415.

² Vol. i. 236.

³ Vol. i. 286.

duced a bill founded thereon, "to regulate the importation and exportation of corn;" which passed the Commons, and was carried up to the Lords on the following 13th of May. On the 3rd of June, the Bill was returned from the Lords, with amendments; and particularly, with this one,—“That no bounty should be paid on exported corn.” Governor Pownall said, “that though the alterations were trifling, and chiefly grammatical, yet he thought them, upon the whole, real improvements, and therefore would have made no objection to them, had not one been a flagrant encroachment upon the privileges of the House; that as the Lords, forgetful of their duty, had interfered in raising money by inserting the words ‘that no bounty should be paid upon exported corn,’ he must move the House to reject the Bill.” Mr. *Whitworth* seconded the motion,—the *Speaker* declared “that he would do his part in the business,”—Mr. *Burke* supported it—*more suo*,—“The Lords”—said he—“do not know what is going forward in this House; and, what is worse, they do not understand the principles of the constitution. . . . Can liberty exist a moment, if we allow them to lay their sacrilegious hands upon this holy of holies, this palladium of the constitution?” . . . “The Bill was rejected, *nem. con.*, and the *Speaker* tossed it over the table; several of the members,

*on both sides of the question, kicking it as they went out !”*¹

In the following session of parliament, we find Governor Pownall taking an active interest and part in various measures of public importance; particularly, on the laws relating to the assize of bread — the mutiny bill for regulating courts martial in America — the linen trade — the Boston port bill — and the bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. In a debate on the latter subject, in April, 1774, it is stated in Hansard, that “he rose to give the House an account of the mode in which juries were chosen in America; the House at first did not much attend, but his extensive knowledge in American affairs soon drew that attention to what he said, which his abilities so justly deserved.”² In a subsequent debate, April 22, on the same subject, he thus spoke of himself and his opinions: — “Sir, the few words that I shall trouble the House with on this occasion, will be directed simply to facts, and to the rectifying some matters of fact respecting the constitution of the province of Massachusetts Bay, which some gentlemen, on both sides of the House, seem to me to have mistaken, and to have misstated. As to opinions, I shall never more trouble the House with mine on the subject. While the affairs of America remained on

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist., v. xvii. 512 et seq.

² Ib. 1199.

that ground, that opinions might operate on measures of policy, I never withheld mine, poor as they may have been, — I always avowed them openly and publicly. — In this House I delivered my sentiments explicitly and directly. It was my duty so to do — I considered it as of perfect obligation, — and I hope I have fulfilled that duty. I could not but think it a matter of imperfect obligation, even to obtrude my sentiments, and the best information that I could give, in other places, out of this House. I hope I have not there exceeded my duty: I have expressed the same sentiments at all times, and have given the same opinion in what I have written to America. All tended to one point; the pointing out the grounds of reconciliation and peace. The case at present ceases to be matter of opinion — it is come to action. The measure which you are pursuing will be resisted, not by force, or the effect of arms, as was said by an honourable gentleman on the late occasion, but by a regular united system of resistance. I told this House (it is now four years past) that the people of America would resist the tax which lay then upon them — that they would not oppose power to your power, but that they would become impracticable. Have they not been so from that time to this very hour? I tell you now that they will resist the measures now pursued in a more vigorous way. You will find them prepared for

such resistance, not by arms, but by a system of measures. On the other point, should matters ever come to arms, you will hear of other officers than those appointed by your governors. When matters once come to that, it will be, as it was in the late civil wars in this country, of little consequence to dispute who were the aggressors — that will be merely matter of opinion. It is of more consequence at this moment so to act — to take such measures — that no such misfortune may come into event.”¹

The crisis foreseen by the Governor, when making this speech, “wherein all opinion as to the modes of policy must be useless,” and “measures of force” must be resorted to, was soon afterward attained; and on the 20th of February, in the following year, we find him not only breaking the silence, as to opinion, which he had imposed upon himself, but taking a decided part in the advocacy of such strong measures as the position now assumed by the colonies towards the mother-country rendered necessary, in the eyes of the ministry, for the maintenance of the supremacy of the latter, in the sense in which it was alike understood by them — by Governor Pownall — and by Junius. “When I see” — said the Governor — “that the Americans are actually resisting that government which is derived from

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist., vol. xvii. 1282-3.

the crown, and by the authority of parliament; when I see them opposing rights which they always acknowledged, and for asserting which I could produce the best authority (I mean their own authority, as expressed by one of their ablest agents); when I see them arming and arraying themselves, and carrying this opposition into force by arms; seeing the question brought to an issue, not on a point of right, but a trial of power; I cannot but say, that it is become necessary that this country should arm also. It is become necessary that this government should oppose force to force, when that force is to be employed only in maintaining the laws and constitution of the empire. These, Sir, are my reasons for acquiescing (though I have neither advised, nor been advised with), in measures of force. The Americans themselves have rendered them necessary."¹ This strong repetition of the determination, formerly expressed by Governor Pownall, to uphold the supremacy of the mother-country at all hazards, might lead to the conclusion that he had ceased to be — what he had called himself — “an advocate for the colonies, and the British subjects in America,”² — and had taken rank with the *measures-of-force party*; particularly when, in the continuation of his speech, he is found supporting the prime minister — and *that* prime minister,

¹ Hansard, vol. xvii. 323.

² *Ib.* 322.

Lord North! Yet, in this, Governor Pownall was not inconsistent; for the subject of debate was a series of propositions, whereon to found a bill "for conciliating the differences with America," submitted by Lord North — not, however, as prime minister, but as a private member of the House — which were so utterly at variance with the government measures of the preceding years of his administration, relating to America, as to cause Mr. Fox — after congratulating his friends and the public "upon the motion which the noble Lord has now produced" — to exclaim, — "He who has been hitherto all violence and war, is now treading back his steps to peace:"¹ — the change of opinion, or inconsistency of conduct, was therefore in Lord North, and not in Governor Pownall.

With our further extracts from this speech, we shall advert to an anonymous letter to the Earl of Chatham, first published in 1840, in *the Chatham Correspondence*,² which is not only remarkable for its contents, but because of its having been deemed worthy of a confidential, and almost immediate answer from the illustrious statesman to whom it was addressed; as appears from the reply of the anonymous writer. This letter bears date on the 14th of November, 1775, and Governor Pownall's speech was delivered on the 20th

¹ Hansard, xviii. 329.

² Vol. iv. pp. 414-419.

of the preceding month of February. To us there appears so great an analogy of ideas and expressions in the two, that we are led to the conclusion, that they owe their existence to one and the same author; and if Governor Pownall and Junius were one, as — we think — we have already made manifest, then must the letter be added to the budget of the genuine letters of Junius. If Sir Philip Francis were the amanuensis of Junius, this letter could not be in the same handwriting as the other letters; as, at the time of its date, Sir Philip was in India. It is to be regretted, that a *fac simile* of a part of it did not accompany the numerous *fac similes* with which the *Chatham Correspondence* is enriched; as, possibly, a suspicion of the handwriting being similar to that in which the letters of Junius were written, may not have been excited, in the minds of the Editors of the *Correspondence*, from a foregone conclusion, derived from the impossibility of its having been written by Junius, if Sir Philip Francis were either Junius or his amanuensis, — added to the general impression, that with the letter to Woodfall of the 19th of January, 1773, Junius had, for ever, ceased to write. If Governor Pownall were Junius, and also the author of this letter, the handwriting may afford some means towards deciding whether Junius employed an amanuensis or not. We give the letter at length in the

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Appendix, and restrict ourselves here, to placing a few of its paragraphs in juxtaposition with some extracts from the speech.

The Letter.

“That subject, the American dispute, is now arrived at a crisis, which makes all men tremble, many despond. . . .

“My Lord, when private friends disagree, the same obstacles are apt to occur; the same, too, in the dissensions of foreign powers. In both these cases, how is it that difficulties of every sort are constantly overcome, but by the intervention of a common friend? Suppose, for an instant, that, in the present case, such a character could be found to exist: arduous as his task must be admitted to be, it seems to me far from being impracticable. . .

“ . . . The true sentiments of the prevailing parties in both countries, if unknown, ought previously to be discovered by the common friend. . .

“That common friend, once possessed of this knowledge, could stand in need of nothing, but a head to plan, and a heart to undertake. . . .

“The last difficulty that occurs is, in what region to discover this common friend.

The Speech.

“At present, matters are come to the last extremity,—this Country and America are in the situation of open and declared war; they are on the very point of striking the blow which must be the beginning of shedding of blood.

“When two independent nations are in that situation, they generally, amidst their friends and allies, can find some common mediator, that may at least bring them to some terms of conference, some mode of explanation, that may avert the war that is ready to commence; but where can that mediator be found that can stand forward between the subjects and the government of a country? Who can have sufficient authority to interpose in such a case, to prevent fatal consequences? If the country gentlemen, the landed staple interest of this country, that have never taken any share in this business, as a party, will not on this occasion *stand forth*, there can be no such mediator. They alone are in that predicament which will enable them (and it

Alas! my Lord, Great Britain and America know no foreign power that can assume the name. . . .

“At present, so far as I can judge, there is in the universe one only individual qualified to undertake this important office.

. . . . Be then, my Lord, the guardian angel of this great empire; decline not the honourable office of mediator between Great Britain and America.”

becomes their actual duty) to *stand forth* on this occasion. . .

. . . . Yet, Sir, I do think it is humane, it is nobly spirited in him (Lord North) as a private member of parliament, as one of that candid body, which will, I hope, join him, to *stand forth*¹ as the mediator on this occasion.”

A parallel to the anonymous writer's praise of Lord Chatham may be found in Governor Pownall's speech in a debate in the House of Commons, in March, 1778, “on the King's message respecting the treaty between France and America,” in which he said, — “Now here, if an individual may be permitted to express his private wish, I should wish that the present ministers would advise his Majesty to take that same great man, now Lord Chatham, to his councils, and to their aid; and that they would, as the ministry of the former reign did, lend him their majority.

¹ “I call upon you, in the name of the English nation, to *stand forth* in defence of the laws of your country.” — *Junius, to Lord Camden*, Letter LXIX., vol. ii. 441.

“When a man who *stands forth* for the public has gone that length.” — *Junius*, Letter LIX., vol. ii. 358.

“When such a man *stands forth*, let the nation look to it.” — *Junius*, Letter XXXIX., vol. ii. 143, in note.

“*Stand forth*, my Lord, for thou art the man.” — *Junius*, Letter XV., vol. i. 506.

In the moment in which it was known that he had a lead in the councils, and the direction of the forces of this country, in that moment we should have peace in America, and should lower the haughty crest of France." ¹

On the 16th of November, 1775, Governor Pownall strenuously opposed Mr. Burke's bill "for composing the troubles in America," because it embraced "a plan of concession, previous to all treaty; that is, concessions made as preliminaries to peace." — "From the first spring of this business," he said, "having been for modes of policy, in preference to measures of force, I have always thought, and invariably said, that your *system* called for revision and amendment; I have been against all partial concessions and repeals. I think it should be laid on some basis which is solid, and may be permanent; on such whereon the liberties of America being fixed, the sovereignty of the empire might be established. Repeals upon every partial complaint, and concessions upon every clamour, is not the way; this would produce nothing but endless successions of quarrels, and patching up of those quarrels. *Induciæ, bellum, pax rursus*. It should be taken up on some great and general system." — Governor Pownall, accordingly, seconded by Lord George Germain, moved the previous question: — The

¹ Hansard, xviii. 942. This speech preceded the last memorable speech of Lord Chatham, but a few days.

House divided — yeas 105 — noes 210. Mr. Burke's measure was therefore lost.¹

In the first letter of Junius, dated January 21, 1769, we find a reference to the subject of the King's debts: — "As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict enquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer to think of some better expedient than a lottery. . . . I think it ill becomes the royal dignity to have the debts of a King provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge, or a decayed hospital;"² — also, in letter XIII., June 12, 1769, "— but is it possible for a minister to offer a grosser outrage to a nation which has so very lately cleared away the beggary of the civil list at the expense of more than half a million?"³ — and again, in letter LIX., Oct. 5, 1771, — "The same House of Commons . . . who paid our good King's debts, without once enquiring how they were incurred."⁴ The following extract from a speech of Governor Pownall, delivered on the 18th of April, 1777, in a debate on the arrears of the civil list, shows, that in 1769 he also had required "a strict enquiry how it was incurred" to be made. "As on a late application to parliament for pay-

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist., v. xviii., 988-992. Journals of the H. of C., v. 35, p. 447.

² Vol. i. 393.

³ Ib. 495.

⁴ Vol. ii. 359.

ment of the King's debts, in 1769, I voted against the paying of them without account; and as I shall now give my vote for the payment of the present debt, as well as for the enlarging of the King's income, I should be glad to give the reasons on which I found my conduct. When the message came to the House in 1769, and a motion was made thereupon to vote the sum said to be in arrear, without one article of account, gentlemen of the highest authority, with me, called for the accounts, and asserted, that as £800,000 *per annum*, which had been granted at the beginning of the reign, was, to their certain knowledge, not only adequate, but amply so, it was impossible such arrears could have been incurred, if there had not been some strange mismanagement, or some very reprehensible misapplications, which must appear if the accounts were laid before us: the accounts however were refused, and the question for the motion was put; I therefore voted against it, etc."¹

We have already had occasion to advert to Governor Pownall's speech in the House of Commons, on the 6th of February, 1778, in the debate on Mr. Burke's motion for papers relative to the military employment of Indians in America; and we now give a further extract from it, for the purpose of showing, that he was possessed, alike

¹ Hansard's Parl. Hist., v. xix. 157.

of the enthusiastic temperament, and of the disinterested spirit, which gleams through the pages of Junius. — “So much, Sir, for what is past. If the House will indulge me to speak to arrangements which might be taken for the future, respecting these Indian services, I think the necessity of employing them may be avoided; I know, and therefore speak directly, that any idea of an Indian neutrality is nonsense, is delusive, dangerous nonsense;—if both we and the Americans were agreed to observe a strict neutrality in not employing them, they would then plunder and scalp both parties indiscriminately. . . . I am persuaded, that if we and the Americans would come to some stipulation, or convention, that we mutually, and in one spirit of good faith, would not suffer the Indians to intermeddle, but to consider and act against them as enemies, wherever they did execute any hostilities against any of the British nation, equally, whether English or Americans, all this horrid business might be prevented, or at least in great measure restrained. If government would, in the true spirit and temper of humanity, adopt this idea, and if parliament would by any means find their way to give sanction to it;—if government, in this temper, and under this sanction, would propose to the Congress the terms of such a convention, I am certain that the Congress would embrace it with sincerity, and execute it with good faith.

This is a measure that would have nothing to do with the object of the war; and yet, this spirit, thus aiming to regulate the means of restraining its rigours and cruelty, might become the first seed of peace. This would open grounds that might lead to mutual good dispositions and good offices; and who shall say what may not arise out of this? I think I see clearly, that such a beginning would end in peace;—government will not commit any of its rights or interests in making the proposal;—the very making it would lay the grounds of agreement.” [*Here a mark of almost general approbation showed itself, by—*“Hear him!”—*from all sides of the House.*] “I hail the happy omen; I think I see the spirit of peace arising in the House, and may it animate all our breasts! I am so confident that this measure would be adopted and succeed; and that it would finally lead to the opening a treaty for peace itself; that if government will take it up as a measure, and this House give its sanction to it, I will, without commission, without pay, or the expectation of any reward whatsoever, go myself to the Congress, and make the proposal: and though I take with me no commission, by which government may be committed; yet if the proposal is accepted and agreed to, I will find a way to give assurance to the Congress, that they may act on my proposal;—I will put myself into their hands as an hostage for the truth of what I

propose, and for the good faith of government. On this ground, I am ready to set out this moment. I feel not a little happy, that what I have said is well received by the House; whether it will be accepted and adopted by government, I know not;— I feel that I have done my duty.”¹

In the same session of parliament, Governor Pownall was a prominent speaker in the debate on the King’s message respecting the treaty between France and America. The report of his speech occupies nearly thirteen columns of Hansard’s Parliamentary History, and exhibits the like extensive knowledge, down to the minutest details, of the subject, that appeared so remarkable in the debate respecting Falkland’s Island. The opening of the speech shows how highly he appreciated the importance of the subject.— “I do not rise” — said he — “to defend ministers; the object of this day is much above all such considerations. I do not take into my estimation the pretensions of any set of men; and as to the present ministers, by an examination of their past conduct, which is to come under consideration in a few days, we shall be better able to judge how far they are to be trusted for the future. In the magnitude of this day’s business, I will not mix, even in my ideas, any secondary objects.”²

From this speech it appears, that the negotia-

¹ Hansard, v. xix. 703 et seq.

² *Ib.* 930.

tions at Paris, between the American Commissioners and the French ministry, had not been entered upon earlier than in the preceding August; that, after a time, "all negotiation with France was at a stand; and mutual reproaches arising, had almost driven matters to an open breach between the Commissioners and the French ministry. The Commissioners wrote to the Congress, stating their situation. Here, Sir," continued the Governor, "was a moment that Providence seemed to offer to the good fortune of this country. In this moment, communications of this state of things came to a very private, and very inconsiderable individual; they were made to me, with direct explanations, that the Americans were willing to open a treaty with this country, for reconciliation and reestablishment of peace; and that although the acknowledgment of their independency was a *causa sine qua non*, yet on that point, and on all such points, with which the affairs of America and this country were entangled, they would do every thing to save the honour of their parent country. . . . Overtures of such a nature coming thus to me, an unconnected individual, who had no communications with ministers, as such, nor any right to such communications, what was I to do, or not to do? I decided, in the moment, that the suppression of such an important communication would have been criminal to my country. And

yet, Sir, as I would neither commit myself to any individual, nor be so unjust as to commit any person in employment by such a communication, I did not communicate with the minister;— I did communicate this matter where I thought it most proper so to do;¹ and by means of which I knew I should have an authentic answer. . . . Thus far I went in what I communicated; and said, I was ready to go into a full explanation of the whole; but would make that only to a cabinet council. . I had my answer — *that the ground was inadmissible in the first instance!* And there this matter dropped; and this one opportunity (such as can never happen twice) was lost for ever.”²

The introduction into the House of Commons, in the preceding month, of Lord North’s measure for effecting a reconciliation with America, put an end to the procrastination of the French ministry, who, fearing that that measure might attain its object, immediately signed the treaty. Governor Pownall showed clearly how impossible it had become for Great Britain ever to regain sovereignty over America. His description of the progressive steps of the Americans to independency was excellent: — “Look” — said he —

¹ *Query* — to the King?

² Hansard, xix. 935. From General Conway’s subsequent speech (p. 950), it is probable that the communications to Gov. P. were made by Dr. Franklin. Their intimacy, it will be recollected, dated as far back as the Congress at Albany in 1754.

“into the four great acts of their proceedings; slow, but in measured steps; feeling their ground before they set their foot on it; yet when once set, there fixed for ever. Their first great act was their *Declaration of Rights*, in 1774. The rights there ‘declared, claimed, and insisted upon,’ are incompatible with provincial, and inapplicable to any other than a sovereign independent government, having all the powers necessary thereto within itself. Their next great act of state was *the deduction of their reasons for taking up arms in defence of those rights*, published in a manifesto to all the world. Can those reasons and allegiance stand on any ground of argument? Can they and supremacy stand any where on the same ground? — Their next act was the *Declaration of their Independency*; not suddenly taken up as an ebullition of enthusiasm, or in the bitterness of passion and revenge; but rather as coming on of course, by a train of events, linked together by a system of politics. This Declaration was not made till two years after the first act, and not until July, 1776; and not even then until they were prepared for their next great act, their *Act of Confederation*. After having renounced their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and all political connection with the nation; each province (thus become an independent community) formed and established (as an original act and compact with the people) their

respective governments; and these, thus formed by a mutual and indissoluble Act of Confederation, have established a great republican empire; which, by principles of nature, and not of politics, necessarily sprang up from the ground whereon their affairs stood."¹

The succeeding, and several other passages in this speech are well worthy of perusal, and of being ranked among the productions of Junius; but, to curtail would be to injure them, and they are too long for our pages. The Governor closed by saying, — "In this confidence, therefore, passing by all idea of who are, or who should be, our ministers, which I am totally against mixing in this day's business, I am for the address proposed, in every sense and feeling of the resentment it expresses."²

Before leaving this speech, however, we should have stated, as leading to Governor Pownall's last reported movement in the House of Commons, that he strongly urged, that parliament should extend the powers of the Commissioners, to the enabling them to treat, and finally to agree with the Americans, as independent; on condition, that they should, as such, form a federal treaty, offensive, defensive, and commercial, with us.

On the 6th of May, in the following year (1778),

¹ Hansard, v. xix. 937 et seq.

² *Ib.* 949.

he again advocated the policy of such a measure;¹ and finally, on the 24th of May, 1780, he "moved for leave to bring in a bill to empower His Majesty to make peace, truce, or convention with America." The result of a division of the House was unfavourable, as there appeared — for the motion 52 — and against it, 113 votes.² Parliament was prorogued July 8, and dissolved September 1, 1780; and, as Governor Pownall did not seek admission into the succeeding parliament, we are led to imagine, that the failure of his last attempt towards effecting an honourable peace, between his country and her former colonies, had removed every doubt, if any he had, that he was truly in the position in which, in the assumed character of a retired philosopher, writing from the *Ponta del Gada*, in St. Michael's, in March, 1779, he had described himself as being: — "When I look back," he wrote, "and compare my opinions with events which seem to have confirmed them, and yet see how little effect those opinions have had, even when called for, and when duly explained by facts, in their proper place, I am *at length* convinced, that I have not the talent of so arranging, and of so explaining things, which I am sure are facts and truths, as to demonstrate them to others. That mind, whose faculties are most readily exerted in the

¹ Hansard, v. xix. 1137.

² *Ib.* v. xxi. 627.

search of truth, is seldom *habile* and efficient in the demonstration of it. This, therefore, will be the last paper which I shall ever write on this side the world, on this subject. So little (if I am not too vain in a reference to my own ideas) was this subject comprehended, so little did it seem interesting, so little was it relished, when I was in Europe, that I scarce ever talked of it in real earnest: And, although this withdrawn place may seem best suited for contemplation; yet I feel here the want of that correspondence and conversation which elicits, and brings forward into effect, the power of reasoning, better than the closest and most intense study ever did. *Nec quenquam habeo quocum familiariter de hujus modi rebus colloqui possim; ut ne saltem explicem et exacuam.* And I own, I have my apprehensions that I may prove to be as *visionary*, as the world, I know, *will think me.*¹ The reader cannot fail remarking in the latter part of this extract, a striking similarity of idea with that conveyed by Junius, in his private letter, No. 79, to Wilkes, in the following passage:—“Besides the fallibility natural to us all, no man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned, I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I never am assisted. Those who are conversant with books, well know

¹ Preface to the *Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe*, p. v. et seq. (This Preface is dated *Paris*, Jan. 25, 1780.)

how often they mislead us, when we have not a living monitor at hand to assist us in comparing practice with theory.”¹

An equally striking similarity may be found in their respective opinions of the game laws. “There are not”—says Governor Pownall—“nor ever were, in America, any of those *Forest-laws*, if laws they can be called, which were the mere denunciations of tyranny and domination; regulations that ruined the poor subjects of the monarchs of Europe, in order to insure the preservation of their beasts of the chase. This tyranny became intolerable everywhere; in Britain it was wrenched out of the hands of the monarch. If the suppression of this domination had been made under the genuine spirit of liberty, the mischief would have ended here; but a hundred heads of petty tyrants sprang out of the neck of this hydra principle. A system of *Game-Laws* became established in the hands of lesser, but more mischievous tyrants; and in their hands became snares round the necks, and as whips of scorpions over the backs of the lesser inhabitants of the land, the unqualified yeomanry and tenantry: but the spirit of America revolts against such baseness; the very air will not permit it; what is *wild by nature* is there Game to every individual, who is *free by nature*. There are

¹ Vol. i. p. 331. Nov. 6, 1771.

laws to secure to each landholder the quiet enjoyment of his land against real trespass and damage; but there are no *Game-Laws* in America: that impudent tyranny hath not yet, and, I trust, never will, dare to show its head in that land of liberty."¹

"As to the *Game-Laws*," says Junius, writing in the third person, "he (Junius) never scrupled to declare his opinion, that they are a species of the *Forest Laws*, that they are oppressive to the subject, and that the spirit of them is incompatible with legal liberty:—that the penalties, imposed by these laws, bear no proportion to the nature of the offence; that the mode of trial, and the degree and kind of evidence necessary to convict, not only deprive the subject of all the benefits of a trial by jury, but are in themselves too summary, and to the last degree arbitrary and oppressive. That, in particular, the late acts to prevent dog-stealing, or killing game between sun and sun, are distinguished by their absurdity, extravagance, and pernicious tendency. If these terms are weak, or ambiguous, in what language can JUNIUS express himself?"²

It is sufficient to refer the reader to the dedication and preface, and the 1st, and 35th and three following letters of Junius, to show, both his appreciation of what should be "the conduct which

¹ *Memorial to the Sovereigns of America*, p. 122.

² Letter LXIV., vol. ii. 396.

becomes the permanent dignity of a King" of a free people, and his contempt for the "wretched formalities" which are the too constant attendants upon the kingly office; and as a parallel thereto, and a close to this portion of our subject, we quote the following passage from Governor Pownall's *Memorial addressed to the Sovereigns of America*:¹ — "If this genuine spirit pervades the character of the people [of America], those amongst them, whom the sense and opinion of the people destine to be rulers, will be trained to the character of Sovereigns, and, when actually clothed with the Majesty of the People, will feel a consciousness, not of the pride of their own person, but of the honour and dignity of the People. Under this conscious sense they will, as the Consuls of Rome did, act the character of Sovereigns in a higher tone of dignity than Kings and Princes, whose conscious feel of Majesty is centred in their own narrow selves. They will act with less pride, but more commanding ascendancy; with less violence, but with greater effect; with less craft, but with more wisdom; with truth, honour, and the real spirit of Majesty. If this spirit of sovereignty does not reside in the People; if, through defect of this, the State is not formed to act as a sovereign with all the majesty of the people; this new sovereign may, like a meteor in its rapid trajectory, blaze in the heavens, and as-

¹ P. 30 et seq.

tonish the earth for a time, but will not be found in any uniform revolving orbit, nor become established as a permanent system.

*Ostendent terris hunc tantum, Fata neq: ultra
Esse sinent."*

In 1765, Governor Pownall was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. When Junius wrote to Woodfall, July 21, 1769, — "That Swinney is a wretched but a dangerous fool. He had the impudence to go to Lord G. Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him, whether or no he was the author of JUNIUS,"¹ — that Swinney, namely, the Reverend Sidney Swinney, D.D., author of *The Battle of Minden*, a poem in three books, was also an F. R. S.; and it was, probably, at the meetings of the Society, that Governor Pownall made his acquaintance, and formed the appreciation of his qualities indicated to Woodfall. In 1772, Governor Pownall was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; and in pursuing the objects of that learned body, he attained to great eminence; — a large proportion indeed of his published works, is on the subject of antiquities. Of these, and his other writings, a list will be found in the appendix. He is also said to have been a contributor to — *The Remembrancer*; a collection of papers in favour of the American cause; — and — *The Political Register*; both published by Almon.

¹ Vol. i. * 174, No. 5.

We have already mentioned the marriage, in 1765, of Governor Pownall to the widow of Sir Everard Fawkener. That lady died in February, 1777; and, on the north side of *the Lady Chapel*, in Lincoln cathedral, her husband erected to her memory a monument, bearing an inscription, which, as it is somewhat peculiar, we shall give in the appendix. On the second of August, 1784, Governor Pownall was united in marriage to Mrs. Hannah Astell, relict of Richard Astell, Esquire, of Everton House, Bedfordshire, where the Governor thenceforward established his permanent residence.

From the termination of Governor Pownall's parliamentary labours, to the close of his earthly career, we find nothing worthy of notice, that can in any wise show his former connexion with the letters of Junius; but, in "the last sad scene of all," there seems to be a presumption in favour of our hypothesis; and we shall venture to point it out, although it may be at the risk¹ of being deemed a little *fanciful*.

¹ By the by, — the word *risk* is spelt by Junius *risque* (vol. i. 214, 223, and vol. ii. 176); and the peculiarity has been deemed worthy of a foot-note by Dr. Mason Good. We may then state, that Gov. P.'s spelling of the word is also *risque*, (*Adm. of Col.*, 232. — *Memorials to the Sovereigns of Europe*, 34, — *to the King*, 20, — *to the Sovereigns of America*, 18 and 88). While noting a matter of this nature, we may add here, that the expression "*so far forth*," which has been claimed as peculiar to both Junius and Sir Philip Francis, is also peculiar to Gov. Pownall — (see instances, in

We believe it has never been doubted, that the short motto — *stat nominis umbra*, — now familiar as household words to English ears — prefixed to the first authorized edition of the letters, was dictated by Junius himself. Indeed his letter to Woodfall, No. 57, Feb. 29, 1772, refers to it. He says, in anticipation of the appearance of the book a few days afterward, and apparently in answer to a question from Woodfall — “I am very glad to see that the book will be out before Sawbridge’s motion. *There is no occasion for a mark of admiration at the end of the motto.* But it is of no moment whatsoever.”¹ In the *Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe*, Governor Pownall says, — England “might still have a more solid and less invidious power than that

Magni nominis umbra

with which she braves the whole world;”² —

Hansard, v. xvi. 495 and 868, — and v. xvii. 1285, — and in *Adm. of Col.*, p. 300, etc). — And, for fear we may not find place for it elsewhere, we add here another small sign of identity: — In Philo-Junius’s letter published in a note on p. 558, of vol. i., of G. Woodfall’s edition, a quotation is made from a work by Lord Somers, — the name is so spelt twice. The same letter is again published in the text, as letter XLVI., in vol. ii. p. 225 et seq. and the name is there again twice spelt *Somers*. But on referring to Junius’s own edition of March, 1772, the name in the four instances is found to be spelt *Sommers*. Now, on referring to Gov. Pownall’s *Administration of the Colonies*, p. 20, it will be seen that he also spelt the name *Sommers*; and further, that his opinion of Lord S., corresponded with that of Junius.

¹ Vol. i. 251.

² P. 93.

showing a familiarity with the particular expression. But an expression of that description may be shown — or rather, a similar idea may be expressed — otherwise than in words. On the 25th of February, 1805, Governor Pownall died at Bath, leaving directions to be buried in Walcot church, in that city; “and that he might be laid in an oaken coffin, without ornament *or inscription*; that eight men should carry him to the grave, without any pall; and that a new suit of clothes should be given to each of them, of any colour they might like. He was to be attended only by his house-keeper and man-servant.”¹ — What could he mean by this direction for an inscriptionless coffin, but a repetition of the motto — *stat nominis umbra*?

In connexion with the death of Governor Pownall, we would advert to one of the subjects of the satire of Junius, — the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquess of Lansdowne. Mr. Britton, in his *Junius Elucidated*,² and, after him, Mr. Wade,³ place the death of the Marquess in 1804, whereas it happened on the 7th of May, 1805. “Only a week before his death,” says Mr. Britton, “the Marquess of Lansdowne was personally appealed to, on the subject of Junius, by Sir Richard Phillips, who communicated to the Editor of the

¹ Nicoll's *Literary Anecdotes*.

² Prel. Address, p. xxx.

³ P. xxvi. of Essay prefixed to the second volume of *Bohn's Woodfall's Junius*, published in 1850.

Monthly Magazine a very interesting account of their conversation. On stating to his Lordship, 'that many persons had ascribed those letters to him, and that the world at large conceived that, at least, he was not unacquainted with the author;' the Marquess smiled, and said, 'No, no, I am not equal to Junius, I could not be the author; but the grounds of secrecy are now so far removed *by death*, and changes of circumstances, that it is unnecessary the author of Junius should much longer be unknown. The world are curious about him, and I could make a very interesting publication on the subject. I knew Junius, and *I knew all about the writing and production of those letters. . . .* I'll tell you this for your guide generally; Junius has *never yet* been publicly named. None of the parties ever guessed at as Junius was the true Junius. *Nobody has ever suspected him.'*" If Governor Pownall were indeed, as we believe him to have been, the true Junius, the last two paragraphs continued to be as applicable to him, up to the time of the writing of these pages, as they were at the moment of their utterance by the Marquess of Lansdowne. Assuming the *ipsissima verba* of the Marquess to have been noted down, may not the allusion contained in the sentence — "the grounds of secrecy are *now* so far removed *by death*" — have been to Governor Pownall, whose death happened just nine weeks before the date of the reported con-

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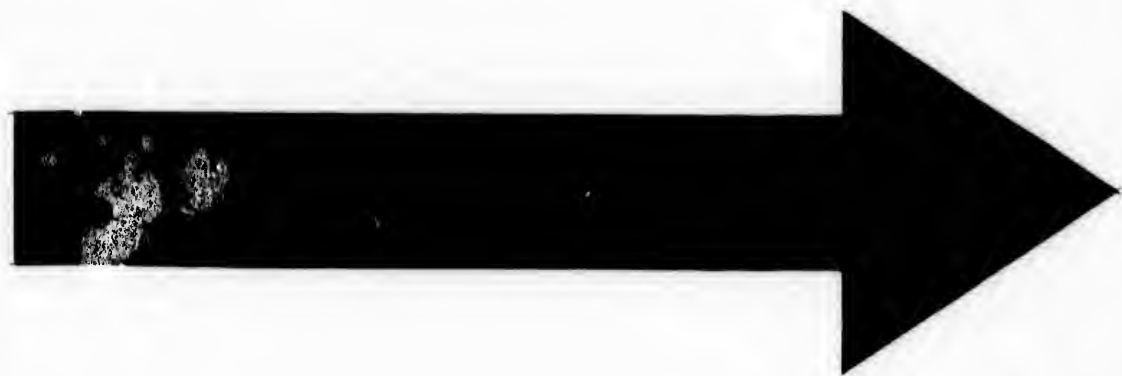
versation, and was no doubt known to the Marquess? The remainder of the same sentence seems to imply, that his Lordship thought it would be proper, that the author of the Letters of Junius should remain unknown yet a short time longer, — probably, this meant — until the surviving few of the leading characters who had been *victimized* by the pen of Junius, had, like him, been “gathered to their fathers.”

We shall now dispose of two or three points, which have not yet found a fitting place in our somewhat desultory observations.

Junius, in his letter to Wilkes, of Sept. 7, 1771, says, — “If you mean that the Americans should be authorized to send their representatives to the British parliament, I shall be contented with referring you to what Mr. Burke has said upon this subject, and will not venture to add any thing of my own, for fear of discovering an offensive disregard of your opinion.”¹ The reference, if we are not mistaken, is to a pamphlet, by Mr. Burke, published in 1769, and entitled “Observations on a late publication intituled — ‘*The present state of the nation,*’” in which, *inter alia*, he severely ridiculed the Author’s project of American representation in the British parliament; and then continued, — “Governor Pownall has handled the same subject. To do him justice, he treats it

¹ Vol. i. 293.

upon far more rational principles of speculation; and much more like a man of business. He thinks (erroneously, I conceive; but he does think), that our legislative rights are incomplete without such a representation. It is no wonder, therefore; that he endeavours by every means to obtain it. Not like our author, who is always on velvet, he is aware of some difficulties, and he proposes some solutions. But nature is too hard for both these authors; and America is, and ever will be, without actual representation in the House of Commons; nor will any minister be wild enough even to propose such a representation in parliament." The work in which Governor Pownall had advocated the measure, was the one we have already often cited under the title of "*The Administration of the Colonies*," the fourth edition of which was published in the year preceding that in which Burke wrote his "Observations," and its author anticipated the reception his proposition, respecting the representation, would meet with:—"I know"—said he—"that this proposal will be considered utopian, visionary, idle, and what not, etc." The chief objection arose from the distance, and consequent tardiness of communication and intercourse between the colonies and the mother-country, which, Burke held, would render the measure utterly impracticable;—while Governor Pownall insisted, "that the mutual situation of Great Britain and America very well allows



every communication, which a member of parliament ought to have with his constituents; and any influence beyond that is unparliamentary and unconstitutional."¹ If the two had lived to the present day of ocean steam-navigation, and electric communication, how would the former have seen, that while his objection was becoming "small by degrees, and beautifully less," the practicability of the proposal of the latter was yearly and proportionately becoming more apparent. Now, Junius's letter to Wilkes implies an approval of "what Mr. Burke has said upon this subject;" and some minds will thence infer that Junius and Governor Pownall could not have been identical, because they differed in opinion on the practicability, if not also on the theory of American or colonial representation in the British legislature. But—may not Governor Pownall have changed his opinion?—may not the reasoning in Mr. Burke's "Observations" have operated that change of opinion?—That there is some ground for the supposition, we think will be admitted, when it becomes known, that in the many of the reported speeches of Governor Pownall, in parliament, although repeated opportunities offered, he is never found to express an opinion, either adverse or favourable, to such a measure. And, after all, Junius's approval of Burke's opin-

¹ P. 169.

ion is but an implied one; — he may have adopted it “for the nonce,” because it was the then — generally considered — orthodox opinion, — or — as a *ruse* to prevent Wilkes’ suspicions of the authorship of the letters from lighting upon Governor Pownall.¹

The *Miscellaneous Letter XXI*, April 23, 1768, signed BIFRONS, contains a passage which has arrested the attention of many investigators of the mystery of Junius, as appearing to afford a slight clue to its solution. It is this: — After quoting a pamphleteer who had said — that the Duke of Grafton “can be supported by the soundest casuists,” in not feeling bound, as a king’s minister, by a promise which he had made as a private man, Junius says, — “I am not deeply read in authors of that professed title, but I remember seeing Bassambaum, Saurez, Molina, and a score of other jesuitical books, burnt at Paris for their *sound casuistry* by the hands of the common hangman.”² In a note to this passage in *Bohn’s Woodfall’s Junius*,³ Mr. Wade refers to “a decree of the parliament of Paris, dated August 6, 1761,” which “had ordered that certain books

¹ Since this was written we have seen the 5th edition of his work; and, it is but fair to add, it contains no symptom of a change of opinion on the point in question.

² Vol. iii. 46.

³ Vol. ii. 175, where the spelling of the first two names is properly (almost!) corrected to — *Busenbaum* and *Suarez*.

by Jesuits should be burnt, in the palace yard at the foot of the great staircase, by the common hangman. . . . The works condemned were chiefly those of Busenbaum and his commentator Lacroix. The decree was executed August 7, 1761. There had been previous burnings of the books of Busenbaum, namely, in 1757 and 1758, and there may have been others later than that of 1761." But the particular burning on the 7th of August, 1761, did not suit Mr. Wade's hero, Sir Philip Francis, who unfortunately happened, at that time, to be at Lisbon, with Lord Kinnoul; and, moreover, in Mr. Bohn's "bibliographical account," the burning at Paris in 1761, of Busenbaum's "Medulla Theologiæ Moralis," *only*, is mentioned; with the addition, that "no evidence of any of the works of Suarez having been publicly burnt since 1614," could be found, and that there is not "any reason to believe that the works of Molina were at any time publicly burnt either at Paris or elsewhere." The facts, as above quoted, were somewhat stubborn: — if the letter of Bifrons could be supposed to be a genuine letter of Junius, — then Junius would be proved to have alleged *a false fact*,¹ namely — that he had seen the works of Suarez and Molina burnt at Paris, when no such works had been burnt there within a century, and more, before

¹ Letter to Sir W. Draper, vol. i. 415.

the time of his allegation; — and — if Sir Philip Francis were Junius, then he — Sir Philip — would have been guilty — not only of alleging the *false fact*, but — of falsely alleging that he had been at Paris, at a time when, in fact, he was at Lisbon. Mr. Wade, however, gets rid of the difficulty, *more suo*, by denying the letter to be genuine,¹ — by doubting “whether Bifrons was an Englishman, or even an Irishman,” — and by boldly declaring, that “he certainly could not have been a British subject in 1761, unless he was a prisoner of war, for in that year we were at hot war with France.” If Mr. Wade had searched a little deeper, he might have found the means of reconciling the letter with his hero, and with Junius too, without reversing Dr. Good’s opinion of its being genuine.

The decree or *arrêt* of the parliament of Paris, of the 6th of August, 1761, after detailing thirty-three different works, written by Jesuits (and published under the sanction of their order), as having been examined by Commissioners of the Court, condemned twenty-four² of them, to be “lacérés et brulés en la cour du Palais,³ au pied du grand escalier d’icelui, par l’exécuteur de la haute justice, comme séditieux, destructifs de tout

¹ “Unquestionably,” quoth he, “Bifrons is spurious.”

² Bifrons says — “and a score of other jesuitical books.”

³ Not the king’s palace; but that in which the parliament, and principal courts of justice held their sittings.

principe de la morale chrétienne, enseignant une doctrine meurtrière et abominable, non-seulement contre la sûreté de la vie des citoyens, mais même contre celle des personnes sacrées des souverains."

Busembaum's *Theologia Moralis*, edited by Lacroix, — Suarez's *Fidei Catholicæ*, — and Molina's *De Justitiâ et jure*, were among the works examined, but only the first and third were condemned to the flames; the first being moreover honoured by a special prohibition of its future sale or use. Suarez's work, as stated in the *arrêt*, had already been condemned to be burnt, in 1614, the year of its publication; and, probably, the parliament therefore deemed it unnecessary to repeat the condemnation. Besides the condemnation of the books of *sound casuistry*, the *arrêt*, at great length, forbade the further operations of the Jesuits, as teachers or professors, in the French dominions, and decreed the closing of their colleges, schools, etc. By the King's letters patent of the same date, the execution of this *arrêt* was suspended for one year; and, on the last day of that year, namely, on the 6th of August, 1762, another *Arrêt du Parlement de Paris, concernant les Jésuites*, was passed, which — after recapitulating the legislative and judicial proceedings in France, relative to the order of Jesuits, from the *arrêt* of the 29th of December, 1594, and edict, based thereon, of Henri IV., of the 7th of January following, which first banished the Jesuits from

the kingdom, — showed, among other things, with wonderful minuteness, the grounds of the condemnation of the works of the Jesuits, and then confirmed the *arrêt* of the 6th of August, in the preceding year, and commanded its execution. At what precise date, afterward, the *exécuteur de la haute justice* fulfilled the particular duty assigned to him by the *arrêt*, we have failed to discover. But the delay of little more than a month, would have rendered it possible for such a person as Governor Pownall to have visited Paris; as, on the 4th of September, 1762, the Duke of Bedford was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to His Most Christian Majesty, and immediately departed to Paris, where he remained, until the object of his appointment had been attained, by the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace, at Fontainebleau, on the 3rd of November, and of the final one, at Paris, on the 10th of February, in the following year; so that, if the burning of the books took place at any time after the Duke's arrival in Paris, in the first week of September, 1762, it is quite possible that Governor Pownall, in his Grace's suite, or otherwise, may have visited that city, and been present at the burning. Indeed there is a strong probability that he did visit Paris, towards the close of the year; as, very soon after the signing of the preliminary treaty, the combined army in Germany, under Prince Ferdinand, began to break up, and the English

portion of it returned to England in December. Governor Pownall's situation as Comptroller-general would not require that he should accompany the army, on its march, and his own return to England, by the way of Paris, would no doubt better suit his convenience than by any other route.¹ That the burning of the Jesuits' books of *sound casuistry*, alluded to in the letter signed *Bifrons*, was the burning ordered by the *arrêt* of the 6th of August, 1762, at whatever date that *arrêt* may have been carried into execution, we believe cannot admit of doubt; as it was the only burning of the kind within a probable period — say, within half a century immediately preceding the date of the letter, that was of sufficient extent to warrant the use of the words “and a score more,” in addition to the specified works of Busembaum, Suarez, and Molina. The only subsequent similar burning of books at Paris, took place on the 21st of January, 1764, in the court-yard of the *palais*; but by what authority does not appear. The collection of French *arrêts*, down to 1789, to which we have access, professes to be a complete one; yet the *arrêt* of the 6th of August, 1762, is the last one, of that collection, that condemns *any* books to the flames. The burning of the 21st of January, 1764, could not have been effected under its authority; because among the

¹ In the *General Preface* to his *Three Memorials*, p. vii., he says, — “in the year 1763, I returned from Germany.”

books burnt, was the *Instruction Pastorale* of the Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, which was not published until the 28th of October, 1763; and yet, a modern French historian of the Jesuits¹ insinuates, that the Archbishop's book was burnt by an arbitrary order of the parliament, — and adds, that the *Emile* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the *Encyclopédie*, shared the same fate, at the hands of the same executioner. From the letter of *Bifrons*, and the following passage in *Miscellaneous Letter XXVIII*, July 23, 1768, viz. — “An ostensible engagement, with a mental reservation, is the first principle of the *morale relachée*, professed and inculcated by the society of Jesus,”² — as well as incidental expressions in some of the avowed letters, it is clear, that Junius entertained no favourable opinion of the Jesuits. And — no more did Governor Pownall, if we may judge from the following pithy note, on page 26, of the Appendix to his *Administration of the Colonies*: “I mention nothing here of the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, because nothing is meant less than religion by them.”

The letter signed *Bifrons* closes with a quotation of the distinction, made by Molière's Sosia, between the two Amphytrions, — “c'est l'Amphytrion chez qui l'on dine,” — and Junius has, in

¹ Crétineau — Joly, *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tom. v. ch. 4.

² Vol. iii. 70.

his acknowledged letters, and particularly in his note to Letter XLII.,¹ shown himself a proficient in the French language. This also appears from a due consideration of the quotation from Mr. De Lolme's essay on the English constitution, with which Junius concludes his Preface. That Preface was published in March, 1772, — the quotation is in English; — but the first edition of De Lolme's work, *in English*, was not published until June, 1775.² The opinion of Junius, therefore, must have been formed from a perusal of the essay in the language, in which it was originally written. The same familiar knowledge of the French language and literature, and occasional use of French phrases and words, are manifest in the writings of Governor Pownall.

“ Whether Junius had any other and less worthy object in view than that (which) he uniformly avowed, namely, a desire to subserve the best political interests of his country, it is impossible to ascertain with precision.” So says Dr. Good, in his preliminary essay;³ and he refers to two of the private letters, the one, No. 17, to Woodfall, and the other, No. 65, to Wilkes, as containing “ the only hints which can be gathered that he (Junius) had any prospect at any time of engaging in public life.” The first is merely the closing expression — “ but if things take the turn

¹ Vol. ii. 191.

² Preface by the Editor of a new edition, London, 1816, p. xix.

³ Vol. i. 85.

I expect, you shall know *me by my works*;" — the second is of more consequence for our immediate purpose. "It is a very common mistake in judgment," says Junius, "and a very dangerous one in conduct, first to look for nothing in the argument proposed to us, but the motive of the man who uses it, and then to measure the truth of his argument by the motive we have assigned to him. With regard to me, Sir, any refinement in this way would assuredly mislead you; and though I do not disclaim the idea of some personal views to future honour and advantage, (you would not believe me if I did,) yet I can truly affirm, that neither are they little in themselves, nor can they by any possible conjecture be collected from my writings."¹ On considering this passage, in connexion with the clear proofs, already adduced, of the author's disinterestedness in pecuniary matters, we cannot but look upon the words — "*personal views to future honour and advantage*" — which views were *not* "*little in themselves*" — as implying, that the author looked forward to a time when his public services would entitle him to something more than mere *professional* promotion, if he were a member of a profession, civil or military, namely, to an elevation of his rank in society; such as would be — the raising of a commoner to the peerage, or of a peer of an inferior grade, to one of a higher.

¹ Vol. i. 264.

The proofs that Governor Pownall was as little influenced by pecuniary views as Junius, we think are clear. Let us see whether he had any "personal views to future honour and advantage," such as Junius did not disclaim entertaining. In 1764, he proposed, and strongly advocated, the formation, in lieu of the then existing Board of trade and plantations, of a separate department, "to be sovereign and supreme as to every thing relating to it," with a *Secretary of State* at its head, for the superintendence or government of the colonies; who should, as the first step, "fix the basis of an established, permanent, and effective system of government for the mother-country and the Colonies," by some leading measure that should be "consistent with the general government and interest of the whole;" — and — "to obtain this with truth and certainty, and to engage the colonists to coöperate in this view with that confidence which a free people must have, if they coöperate at all, government should send out to America, *some very considerable person*, under commission and instructions, to hear and examine on the spot, the state of things there, and by such proper representations and assistance as can nowhere be had but upon the spot, and from the people themselves, to form such authentic matter of information for the King in council, as may become the solid basis of real government, established by the principles of real liberty. To such

considerable person, and to such commission, only, would the colonists give their confidence. . . . They would meet such person in the abundance of their loyalty, with dispositions of real business in their temper, and with the spirit of real union in their hearts. What commission could be more honourable and glorious, even to the highest character, than that of acting for the rights and liberties of a whole people, so as to be the means of establishing those rights and liberties, by an adequate system of freedom and government, extended to the whole? What can be more suited to the most elevated character, than to be the *great reconciler* between the mother-country and her colonies, misrepresented to, and misinformed of each other?"¹ Considering the preceding relation of the Governor to the colonies, is it too much to suppose, that he entertained the honourable ambition — for honourable it certainly was — of being selected as the *considérable person*, who should be the *great reconciler* between the mother-country and the colonies? *Sed*

¹ *Administration of the Colonies*, p. 27 et seq. — Since the above was written, we have found, that in 1766, on the proposal of Gov. Pownall, the Duke of York undertook to become the *great reconciler*, if the minister would adopt the measure, and his Majesty approve of it: — the Governor thereupon, authorized by the Duke, obtained an audience, and submitted the measure to the minister; but it was rejected at the first offer! *The minister* was — the Duke of Grafton; and here we find the origin of Junius's unappeasable wrath against His Grace.

dis aliter visum! On the 20th of January, 1768, such a Secretary of State's office as that recommended was formed, and the Earl of Hillsborough was placed at its head. Unfortunately, however, the office was not put upon the practical and efficient footing proposed by Governor Pownall; nor were any other of the leading points of his plan adopted. The judgment of Junius, passed upon the new Secretary of State for the colonies, just twelve months after his appointment, shows how soon commenced, and how firmly and permanently became established, that infatuated system of governing the colonies, which, in the course of a few years, "divided one-half of the empire from the other;"¹ and by which — rejecting the lessons of experience — the successors of Lord Hillsborough, down to the present year of grace, 1852,² have unceasingly fomented in the British colonies throughout the world, discontent — revolution — rebellion; and by which, with a similar result, colony after colony must cease to be a colony, and the once mighty empire of Britain will — eventually — be reduced to its original limits "within the four seas." Writing in January, 1769, Junius says, — "As for his (Lord Hillsborough's) measures, let it be remembered, that he was called upon to

¹ Letter I. vol. i. 395.

² When this was written, Earl Grey was still the head of the colonial department.

conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period, they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion.”¹ Is not this the very language that Governor Pownall would use, on seeing the early evil effects of the adoption of a part only — instead of the whole — of his original suggestion of a distinct department and Secretary of State, for the rule of the colonies? And may not the observation of these evil effects, as they successively developed themselves, and the certainty, that no *considerable person* — no *great reconciler* would be sent to America as a messenger of peace and good-will, have embittered his spirit towards the ministry of the day, until it found vent in the “thoughts that breathe, and words that burn” in the letters of Junius? If the suggestion of sending to America a *considerable person*, who should become the *great reconciler* between the mother-country and the colonies, had been adopted, and Governor Pownall had been chosen for the office, is it too much to conjecture, that, in case of success, of which he was too sanguine to entertain a doubt, he might look for his reward in — a *peerage*? Let not the reader accuse us of being too visionary on this point. He

¹ Letter I. vol. i. 396.

will, no doubt, admit the truth of the very old saying—"straws show which way blows the wind." Now, in Governor Pownall's *Three Memorials*, we have found two such straws, indicating the direction of his mind towards a peerage. The *General Preface* to these memorials, and the *Memorial to the Sovereigns of America*, respectively, bear the simple signature, "POWNALL;" as if, when subscribing it, the writer had "in his mind's eye" his first patent of nobility:—"BARON POWNALL, OF POWNALL-FEE, in the County of Chester," would both look and sound well; and perhaps, peering still further into the vista of futurity, his 'aching sight' may have been spared a glimpse of his own brow, surmounted by that object of the ambition of his ancestors—the *chamberlaynes* of the second and third Edwards—the coronet of an Earl!" "There was a time," says Junius, ". . . . when titles were the reward of public virtue, and when the crown did not think its revenue ill employed in contributing to support the honours it had bestowed."¹

Among the minor *indicia* tending to identify Governor Pownall with Junius, it may not be amiss to point out a coincidence in their avowed motives for writing anonymously. In his letter to Wilkes, of Sept. 18, 1771, Junius says,—“Besides every personal consideration, if I were

¹ Misc. Letter XXXVII., vol. iii. 121.

known, I could no longer be an useful servant to the public. At present there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate, and darkness, we are told, is one source of the sublime.— The mystery of JUNIUS increases his importance.”¹ The first edition of Governor Pownall’s *Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe* was published in 1780, anonymously; and when a new edition appeared in 1784, the authorship was avowed in the following terms: “Although at the first publication of the Memorial addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe I withheld my name, I never denied my being the author. . . . I had therefore nothing to conceal respecting myself personally. . . . I wished that the world might receive the state of the case solely on the authority of the facts, and not on that of the testimony of any name: That it might receive the proof of the argument from the demonstration of its reasoning; and not from the opinions of any person, howsoever supposed to be informed in those matters. I could not but be conscious, that, with many, my name would, in this business, be attended by strong prejudices, both for and against the opinions and advices which this Tract contains: I therefore withheld my name.”² Junius and Governor Pownall alike thought more of the soundness of their opinions

¹ Vol. i. 314.

² General Preface to *Three Memorials, etc.*

and arguments, than of their personal influence with the public; and each of them desired that his opinions and arguments should be judged on their intrinsic merits, by minds unbiassed by any such prejudice as might be excited by a knowledge of his name. Hence, each of them withheld his name; but Governor Pownall had *nothing* — whilst Junius had *every thing* — to fear from its subsequent disclosure: — the one therefore afterwards avowed his authorship, while the other continued sedulously to conceal it.

Before closing our self-imposed task, we would notice a slight clue, from which some reader more fortunately situated than we are, for *ferreting out* information, may possibly trace a friendly connexion between Governor Pownall and Sir Philip Francis, whereby the opinion, that the latter was the amanuensis of Junius, may be strengthened, if not confirmed.

In his *Administration of the Colonies*,¹ Governor Pownall, in discussing the question of a colonial paper-currency, says, — “On this subject, I here refer the reader to the following very judicious tract, written and given to me, several years ago, by *Tench Francis*, Esq.; late Attorney-general of the province of Pennsylvania; conversant in these matters, both as a lawyer and a merchant. I print and publish it *by leave of a near relation*, and subjoin it as containing the

¹ 4th Edition. v. 190.

most exact and decisive sentiments, on this subject, that I have anywhere met with. I entitle it— *Considerations on a Paper Currency.*” Tench Francis, was Attorney-general of Pennsylvania, from 1744 to 1752, and Recorder of the city of Philadelphia, from 1750 to 1755. He married, in 1724, Miss Elizabeth Turbutt, of Maryland, and died about the year 1760. He was brother—and, we believe, *only* brother, of Dr. Philip Francis, the translator of Horace and Demosthenes, and father of Sir Philip Francis; and the Doctor was the *near relation* who gave leave to Governor Pownall to print and publish the *Considerations*. Besides the reasonable inference of intimacy to be drawn from the circumstance of Attorney-general Francis writing and giving to Governor Pownall, a tract of the description mentioned, their official acquaintance with each other may fairly be presumed, from their relative public stations, as well when Governor Pownall first visited America, as previously, when he was Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations. If it can be shown, that the Francis and Pownall families, in England, were on social terms with each other, then the probability of Sir Philip having been the amanuensis and private friend of Junius,¹ will be enhanced. For the above particulars respecting Attorney-general

¹ And, perhaps also, “the gentleman who transacts the conveying part of our correspondence.” Letter to Woodfall, No. 51.

Tench Francis, we are indebted to the kindness of one of his great-grandsons, resident in Philadelphia; who has in his possession several amusing letters addressed by Sir Philip, to his cousin, Colonel Turbutt Francis, of Maryland, about the time of the letters of Junius. These, we are given to understand, do not, by any means, support the pretensions of those persons who claim for Sir Philip the authorship of the letters of Junius.¹

¹ *A propos de bottles.* Besides the existence of his above named uncle, the biographers of Sir Philip Francis appear to have overlooked his first marriage, viz., on the 27th of Feb., 1762, to Miss Macrabie; and his appointment, in the following December, as Deputy Secretary at War. (*London Magazine for 1762*, p. 165, and *Appendix thereto*, p. 724.) — Sir Philip's second wife was Emma, daughter of the Rev. H. Watkins. They were married in December, 1814, only four years before Sir Philip's death. Miss Watkins was then in her 36th year, and her acquaintance with Sir Philip, according to her own account, dated no farther back than 1805. If Lord Campbell, and — after him — Mr. Wade had duly kept these circumstances in view, neither of them would have laid the stress they both have done upon her Ladyship's letter (*Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, vol. vi., p. 344, *in note*), written for his Lordship, and addressed to Mr. Edward Dubois, Sir Philip's quondam secretary; nor would either of them have adduced it as containing proof, "wholly conclusive," in favor of Sir Philip, of the great question of the authorship of the *letters of Junius*. When analyzed, the letter of Lady Francis amounts to no more than a declaration, that she had so long *suspected* her husband of having been Junius, that her mind was, at length, brought to the belief, that he really was so: — it, in fact, proves, that her "wish" — and her wish alone — that Sir Philip should be Junius, "was father to the thought," that he was so; and this, although transparent throughout the letter, has imposed upon the clear intellect of a far-seeing Lord Chief-justice, and the literary acumen of an experienced editor and essayist!

In conclusion, we would beg the reader to re-peruse Dr. Mason Good's summary of the characteristics necessary to be combined in one person, to entitle him to be called the author of the **LETTERS OF JUNIUS**; and if on such re-perusal, he shall feel convinced, that those characteristics were, in every essential particular, combined in the person of **GOVERNOR POWNALL**, he will not hesitate to concede to the humble writer of these pages the honour of being — the **DISCOVERER OF JUNIUS**.

As intimated in the postscript to our preface and dedication, we now proceed to lay before the reader some additional evidence, discovered during our short visit to the British metropolis last spring.

This evidence consists of twenty-seven original letters, written by Governor Pownall; in 1769, and the three following years, and one written in 1774. All of them, with one exception, are addressed, or, on sufficient grounds, are presumed to have been addressed, to the Reverend Samuel Cooper, D. D., of Boston, Massachusetts, one of the Fellows of Harvard College; and they have reference to those political relations and disagreements between Great Britain and her American

colonies, out of which, shortly afterwards, arose the independency of the latter, as a nation. The exception alluded to, is the penultimate letter, which is addressed to Samuel Adams, Esquire, of Boston. For the convenience of reference, we have numbered them from 1 to 27.

The first twelve belong to the year 1769, No. 1 bearing date, at its commencement, the 30th of January (nine days after the publication of the first of Junius's acknowledged letters), and being continued on the 6th of the following month: these are followed by nine of the year 1770, three of 1771, two of 1772, and one of 1774. The greater part of No. 1, and the whole of Nos. 12 and 22, (except the closing words and signatures, which are in the Governor's own handwriting,) are in a beautiful free running hand, not improbably, that of the Governor's brother, John Pownall; and as, in the formation of most of the letters, are to be seen the general characteristics of Junius's finer penmanship — we mean that which appears to have been written with a crow-quill pen — we may easily imagine, that when the writer chose to disguise his handwriting, by forming the letters nearly perpendicular, instead of giving them the ordinary slope, it would, in almost every respect, assume the appearance of Junius's finer handwriting. Although the handwriting in question differs much from that of Governor Pownall, yet in many particulars it bears a

strong affinity — a species of family resemblance — to it.

No.'s 2 and 4, are so remarkably like the published fac-similes of the handwriting of Mr. — afterwards Sir Philip Francis, that we do not hesitate to express our opinion, that on those two occasions he was Governor Pownall's amanuensis.

The continuation of No. 1, and all the remaining letters, are wholly written by the Governor himself, in a bold, off-hand style, greatly resembling, not only in the formation of particular letters and words, but in the general appearance of the mass — or *tout-ensemble* of the words, the published specimens of the bolder kinds of Junius's handwriting: — the peculiar formation of the letters *m*, *n*, and *w*, mentioned in our note on page 74, both separately and when in combination, is precisely the same as that of Junius.

No. 17, which bears a *dash*, in place of a signature, is the most remarkable of the series; for, while its ordinary closing words — "I am Dr Sir, Yr. affect. friend, and faithfull servt. —," and its original interior address "For y^e Rev'd Dr: Cooper" (scrawled over at some later date by another hand, and with different ink), are in the Governor's ordinary handwriting, although somewhat less bold than usual, the body of the letter is in a disguised style, which is yet so superficial as to be easily detected as the handwriting of the Governor himself; and that disguise, although

principally formed by giving the letters somewhat more than the ordinary slope, instead of raising them to a nearly vertical position, yet so strongly resembles the handwriting of Junius, both in its general features, and in its peculiarities, that it is really not easy to withhold an assent to the proposition, that it and the letters of Junius were written by one and the same hand. Unfortunately, the shortness of our stay in London, after we had discovered these letters of the Governor, precluded us from obtaining fac-similes of portions of them; and we must therefore content ourselves with indicating where they are to be found, and hoping that ere long such specimens of them may be published as shall enable the reader to judge of them for himself.

They are in "the King's library" in the British Museum, richly bound together in crimson morocco, and lettered — "ORIGINAL LETTERS, *from GOVERNOR POWNALL to the REV'D DR. COOPER, written in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, and 1774, on American Politics,*" — and with them are two other volumes, bound and lettered in the same style; the one containing original letters from Dr. Franklin to the Rev'd Dr. Cooper, and the other, draughts and copies, in his own handwriting, of letters from Dr. Cooper to Governor Pownall and Dr. Franklin; but of these we can say little or nothing, as time would not admit of our giving them more than a cursory inspection.

With the three volumes, there is a fourth, in like manner bound and lettered, containing copies (in a writing-master's most formal style!) of Governor Pownall and Dr. Franklin's letters, preceded by an address of presentment of the originals to the King, including therein the following account of the manner in which they came into the hands of their then possessor:—

“Immediately after the affair of Lexington, which happened on the 19th of April, 1775, the town of Boston was surrounded by the rebels, and all intercourse with the country was cut off: those who were in the town were not allowed to quit it, without the permission of the Commander-in-chief, and no person was allowed to pass the lines to go into the country, without first being searched by the officers appointed by the General for that purpose. At this time, many of the leading men of the disaffected party were still in the town; and among the rest, the Reverend Dr. Cooper, minister of the gospel to one of the religious societies in that town; a man of great weight and influence among the people, who admired him as much for his abilities, as they respected him on account of his holy profession, and his exemplary life and conversation. He, with many others, made immediate application for leave to quit the town, and obtained a passport for that purpose.

“At this time, he had in his possession, the

original of the following letters from Dr. Franklin, together with the original draughts of his answers, and a great number of letters from Governor Pownall, written at the same time. Being unwilling to destroy these papers, and afraid of detection if he attempted to take them with him through the lines, he determined to leave them behind, in the hands of a confidential friend, with directions to forward them to him by the first safe conveyance. He accordingly packed them all up together in a bundle, and sent them to Mr. Jeffries, one of the selectmen of Boston, who at that time was sick, and unable to leave the town. He was confined to his bed when these papers were brought to him; they were therefore put by in a trunk, which contained other things of his own. As soon as Mr. Jeffries was recovered from his illness, he left the town, and followed the rest of his party into the country.

“ His son, Dr. John Jeffries, who is now one of the surgeons to the hospital at New York, not choosing to take part in the rebellion, refused to accompany his father into the country. With this son, he left every thing that he could not take with him, and, among other things, the before-mentioned trunk; either not knowing, or forgetting that it contained a treasure that belonged to his friend. This trunk remained nearly a year in Dr. Jeffries' possession, without his knowing what it contained, till, upon the evacuation of Boston

in the month of March following, collecting his effects, in order to embark with them for Halifax, he accidentally discovered the packet of letters, and, finding them interesting, took care to preserve them. From Halifax he brought them with him in January last, and made a present of them to Mr. Thompson, who now presumes, most humbly, to lay them at His Majesty's feet, as a literary, as well as a political curiosity."

Who "Mr. Thompson" was, does not appear;¹ and as there is no date to the address, we can only *guess* from the words "in January last," that it was presented to His Majesty in a later month in the year 1779, as "at the evacuation of Boston, Dr. Jeffries embarked with the troops, and went to Halifax, and was appointed chief of the surgical staff in Nova-Scotia;" and "in 1779, he went to England."²

It is stated in our essay, that Governor Pownall took up his residence at Richmond, shortly after his return from Germany, in 1763; and from letter 24, it now appears that his country residence was at Richmond, whence that, and the preceding letter, bear date; while his town-house, in London, was in Albemarle street, whence eleven others of the letters are dated. Junius, while —

"——, tow'ring in his pride of place,"

¹ Probably he was the King's librarian.

² Sabine's Biographical Sketches of American Loyalists — p. 385.

could have chosen no better "local habitation" than either of these. The Governor's will, which we have seen in *Doctors' Commons*, shows that the town-house was his own property.

A trifling, but yet significant peculiarity may be observed in the manner of dating these letters. It is this,—that in all of those which are dated by the Governor himself, the numeral date follows the name of the month; *and the same peculiarity is observable in all the private letters of Junius to Woodfall*: the dates of the *public* letters, are not as they were written by Junius, but are the dates on which those letters appeared in the *Public Advertiser*.¹

With regard to the letters themselves, generally,—if the reader expects to find in them the same finished, compressed, antithetical style, which pervades the letters of Junius, we tell him plainly, that he will be disappointed; and for the very good reason, that in his expectation he is unreasonable. To disbelieve that these letters, written, as they were, in the full confidence of private friendship, and without any view to future publication, are not the emanations of the same mind that produced the letters of Junius, only because they do not exhibit in their composition an equal fire — an equal force — an equal labour to express ideas in the fewest, but yet most comprehensive words, would be about as reasonable

¹ Preface, vol. i. 349 et seq.

as to disbelieve that a certain peasant walking the earth like other mortals, was a *Vendée*-an peasant, only because we have never seen a *Vendée*-an peasant walk the earth otherwise than on his native stilts. The avowed writings of Junius were, according to his own account, not produced without much labour,¹ — the errors of the original MSS. never appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, when time was allowed the printer to correct them: — of the first genuine edition, the proof-sheets of the first two letters only were corrected by the author; and those of the remainder by Woodfall; while the *Preface* and *Dedication* were submitted to the revision of Mr. Wilkes.² That Woodfall's corrections occasionally extended further than the proof-sheets, may be gathered from the letter to him of August 16th, 1769, in which Junius says — “Your correction was perfectly right. The sense required it, and I am much obliged to you. . . . you know, I do not, nor indeed have I time, to give equal care to them all;”³ — and also from those to him of Dec. 26, 1769, and Feb. 21, 1771; in the former of which Junius says — “As to embowelling, do whatever you think proper, provided you leave it intelligible to vulgar capacities;”⁴ — and in the latter — “I leave it to you to *alter*, or *omit*, as you

¹ Letter to Woodfall, No. 24, vol. i. 214.

² Prel. Essay, vol. 1. 91, — letter to Woodfall, No. 40, vol. i. 228.

³ *Ib.* No. 7, 197.

⁴ *Ib.* No. 17, 206.

think proper;— or *burn* it.”¹— Also, in letter XIII., signed *Philo-Junius*, he says,— “As for his style, I shall leave it to the critics. The truth of his facts is of more importance to the public;”²— and in letter XXIX., with the same signature— “Notwithstanding the partiality of the public, it does not appear that Junius values himself upon any superior skill in composition, and I hope his time will always be more usefully employed than in the trifling refinements of verbal criticism.”³ But, notwithstanding all the *labour* of the author, and the corrections made by the original printer and publisher, “numerous errors of grammar and construction,” says Mr. Butler, in his *Reminiscences*, “are to be discovered in these celebrated letters;” and to the like effect say Dr. Good,⁴ and Lord Brougham.⁵ If such be the case then with writings originally prepared for publication, and subsequently, on republication, corrected, and recorrected, it is

¹ Prel. Essay, vol. i. 91, — letter to Woodfall, No. 33, vol. i. 220.

² Vol. i. 493. ³ Vol. ii. 28. ⁴ Prel. Essay, vol. i. 91.

⁵ *Statesmen of the time of Geo. III.*, vol. i. 113.— From the responsibility of one error, however, we must relieve Junius. The beautiful metaphor at the close of the 42nd letter, (vol. ii. 194,) is thus printed in G. Woodfall’s edition of 1814:— “Private credit is wealth;— public honour is security.— The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports *its* flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth.” The pronoun *its*, which we have italicized, was, in Junius’s own edition, (vol. ii. 145,) printed— *his*.

scarcely reasonable to look for the elaborated composition of the letters of Junius, in the private letters of Governor Pownall, written as these were without a view of their ever passing beyond the circle of his and his correspondent's immediate friends. The impartial reader will no doubt bear this in mind, whenever he catches the Governor *tripping in his grammar*, and will set down any occasional defect in grammatical construction, as another presumption in favour of the Governor's identity with Junius. The Governor might truly have said, with Junius,—“I was not born to be a commentator, even upon my own works.”¹ Yet are these letters neither unworthy of the fame, nor wholly devoid of the style—even “the ornamented style”²—of the great *nominis umbra*:—on the contrary, there will be found in them much of the same patriotic spirit—the same fearless independence of mind—the same interest in *the cause of the people*³—the same contempt for the ministry of the day—and, occasionally, the same comprehensive, antithetical modes of expression, and of reasoning—that are so remarkable in the *letters of JUNIUS*.

¹ Preface, vol. i. 350.

² Letter XXXI., vol. ii. 45.

³ No. 63, vol. i. 255, — vol. ii. 344 et seq.

LETTER I.

LONDON, Jan'y 30, 1769.

DEAR SIR:—The American affairs being now actually under consideration, and I having taken so large a part in Parliament relative thereto, my whole time is so entirely engrossed, that I have scarcely leisure to write this kind of note.

I do intend hereafter to enter with you into the discussion of the several points of opinion, and matters of conduct, contained in your letters of Oct. 5, and Nov. 26; (which are the only two letters I have lately received from you, —if there be any others that you have written, they have not come to hand, which I mention to put you on your guard) —at present, I can only give you as it were notice of the course which things are in, without being able to form any judgment how they will end.

I need not mention to you the King's speech, as you will doubtless have seen it. The matters relative to America contained therein were intended as the foundation of such measures as Ministry intended bringing before parliament in the course of the session. I thought it improper to enter at all into any part of that day's debate, but reserved what I had to say, till the measure itself should be laid before Parliament. The

measure has been since brought forward, and originated in the House of Lords: and consists of a set of resolutions relative to the conduct of the town of Boston, in the province of M. B., charging them with several misdemeanors and criminal proceedings; and for an address to the King, founded on that charge, beseeching him to direct his Governor to make inquiry as to treason and misprision of treason, and the most active committers of those offences; in order that his M. may, on the act of the 35th of Henry 8th, issue a special commission for the hearing and determining these matters within the realm, in case there should be sufficient ground for such proceeding.

I take this measure up in two views — first, as to the expediency of it as a political measure — secondly, as to the foundation and justice of it, as a proceeding of the House of C., acting on this occasion as the grand inquest of the nation. I shall not speak to the first head, till it is a complete measure reported from the committee to the House, which is to be done on Friday next, when it is understood that I am to take the lead, and open the debate in opposition to this measure.

In the committee on Friday last, I spoke to the second head; and considered the resolutions and address which the Lords sent to us for our concurrence, as a bill of indictment of the grand inquest: and therefore entered into the consideration of the charges therein made as to the mat-

ters of fact and evidence on which they were founded, which I took the liberty to say, were false and groundless. I here refer you to the resolutions, which I really have not time to get copied, but of which I suppose you will have numbers of copies sent to you. I would send you a transcript of what I said on that occasion, but have much less time to examine the correctness of what was taken down: — I can only acquaint you, upon the second resolution, that I convinced the committee, and ministry itself, that the resolution *in January* of the House of representatives, therein referred to, of writing letters to the other assemblies on the continent *to join* with them, etc. — on which the resolution of the House of Lords was founded — was never laid before that House, and never could have been laid before that House, as it did never exist; and that therefore the charge of unwarrantable and dangerous proceedings, tending to create unlawful combinations, etc., was not founded in fact and evidence, so far [as] that resolution was made a ground for the charge: [*here follows a running commentary upon the several resolutions and address of the House of Lords;¹ after which the Governor proceeds:*]

Besides going into this defence of the town and

¹ The resolutions, eight in number, were passed by the House of Lords, on the 15th of Dec., 1768, at the instance of the Earl of Hillsborough; and the address, founded thereon, was adopted on motion of the Duke of Bedford. And see *ante*, p. 116 et seq.

province, as to the charges exhibited against them in the resolutions, I called upon Government to make one charge more, and challenged them to exhibit a charge against the town for refusing to quarter the troops,—and upon this head said, that the act was such a foolish, indecisive, impracticable law, that it could not be carried into execution. — [It will be necessary to give a caution here, that what I might say in debate in parliament, can neither be said nor written, much less published, with safety, out of those walls]; — that the General had written word, that the clause in it was incompatible with the circumstances of the province; and that another of the servants of the Crown had written, that, as it was capable of being explained, it was an act *to prevent* the quartering his Majesty's troops in America; — and that therefore, if nobody else did move for the repealing or amending it, I should do it.

As I have said in one particular, I must beg to caution you upon the whole, that many things which I have above stated to you as passing within the walls of our H——, cannot, with safety to myself or any other, be made public out of, or beyond those walls.

Feb. 6. — I kept my letter back, in hopes to have sent you some further account of our proceedings on American affairs, but the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes have put off these mat-

ters. The ship by which I should send my letters, I am told sails today—so must close. The Report on American affairs is to be received—Wednesday, 8th, when we shall have a pretty smart debate. Besides opposition which I shall give to the resolutions and address, not only as a bill of indictment and presentment, but *as a measure*, in both which views I shall consider it, and speak of them in words that I will not venture to use out of the House.

You say in your letters—“Strange, that nobody will think of some measure that will re-establish matters on their right footing:”—If you did but know how impracticable (nay—impossible) it is for an individual—nay, any body of them who are of, or are permitted by, ministry, to bring forward any measure, you would cease to wonder. However, as Ministry have proposed nothing—as nobody seems to have thought of any thing—I will bring forward, on Wednesday, some propositions of which the following are the contents:—

1. That we take the *old ground* which matters stood upon before the late innovations.—
2. That we act upon that ground as Government always has done (till of late), ever since the establishment of the colonies.

I shall take up the doctrine of the distinction between internal and external taxes, as the principle of my plan—

Explaining the justice and constitutional equity of our abstaining from the first —

And the manner of laying the latter — not according to late precedents, but — according to the invariable old practice. *Sat sapienti dictum.* I have not time to say more —

I am, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend,
and faithful humble,

T. POWNALL.

LETTER II.

Albemarle street, LONDON, 13th Feb'y, 1769.

DEAR SIR: — In addition to what I wrote you in my last, of the part which I had taken in your affairs, lately before parliament, I should here have troubled you with the remaining part of what I said upon the occasion, but as it is possible you may have other opportunities of being informed of it, I will not here enter into it.

I cannot as yet learn, whether any other measures are likely to be taken in this affair, but I will attend to all motions on this subject, with the watchfulness, not only of a good subject of Great Britain, but as a friend to the colonies, and of the Massachusetts Bay in particular.

This measure of the Crown's being advised, if it think proper, to act upon the 35th of Henry the 8th, altho' I think it is not meant to be, or ever will be, carried into execution, yet deserves some very serious consideration to guard against the ill use that might be made of it;—as for instance—by this measure any servant of the Crown may be directed to inquire after and report any matters of treason; or misprision of treason, upon which report the persons thus charged or informed against, may be taken into custody, brought prisoners to England, etc., etc.

Now, as *some check* upon this *power of information* seems extremely necessary, to prevent its being wantonly, maliciously, or falsely made use of, I have under contemplation the bringing forward, and applying to the present case, the two following old statutes, which appear to me to be at present in force, and require only such alterations and amendments as may suit them to the present occasion. The statutes are the 18th of 37th Edward 3rd, and the 9th of 38th Edward 3rd.; the nature of which measure of mine, you will better see by referring to the statutes at large, than by any explanation I can give you by letter.

As I do really think that a repeal of the late revenue laws, if taken up upon commercial grounds, in consequence of petitions, formed upon those grounds only, coming from the colonies, would be the first step to, and the surest ground upon which

a reconciliation and good understanding between this country and the colonies, might be established; and as by this time the people of America cannot be at a loss how to frame such petitions, if they think proper, so as to avoid any of those objections, or obstructions that they might meet with from the repugnant views of different parties, I wish something in this way could be attempted, because I am convinced if this step were once taken, we should not find it a difficult matter to get back to the old safe, and well understood ground, on which the administration of American matters hath been conducted until these few years.

On this head I have had in contemplation, the making a draught of such a petition, framed upon such general principles, and in such general terms, as, from my idea of the people of the colonies, I do apprehend, consistent with their opinions, they might adopt; and such as I should upon consultation have reason to think Government here would not reject, if petitions so drawn were to come. But as your Assembly is not likely to meet till May, there is time enough for the further consideration of this; and indeed, matters do not seem as yet to be quite ripe for it. In the mean time, there is no wisdom or safety, but in peace, and in the submission of the subordinate to the supreme. *Sat sapienti dictum* — for if I were to use all the words and expressions which language

can give, I could not give my advice in terms that would convey it more properly.

Permit me to repeat a caution necessary for myself, that what I write in a private and confidential manner to you, should be particularly guarded against any public use being made of it; which is a caution I have very strictly observed respecting your letters to me;—and, let me add, that notwithstanding all the good intentions of two persons corresponding with each other, for the sole purpose of promoting the mutual good of the mother-country and her colonies, as founded in their union upon principles of law and the constitution,—that notwithstanding every precaution such persons may use not to offend, either against the laws or the government of the supreme power, yet the unguarded and confidential expressions which persons are open to, in their friendly communications, are not only liable to be misunderstood, but to be misrepresented, if such correspondence should fall into the hands of those who are either willing, or whose interest it is, to misrepresent them:—to prevent therefore, beyond all doubt, all such letters as you may write to me *from falling into such hands*, you must take care they never come in any other channel than [one] thro' which they will be delivered *directly into my own hands*. I cannot by letter tell you why this caution is necessary, but—*it is necessary*; and you may sug-

gest the same to any of our friends who may have occasion to write to me.

I hope this will find you and all our friends well, to whom I beg my best respects —

I am, with greatest esteem, and most sincere regard, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend, and faithful

T. POWNALL.

To the Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

I did mean by this conveyance to have sent you my speech; — should the ship not sail for two or three days, you shall have it.

LETTER III.

LONDON, Albemarle street, Feb. 25, '69.

DEAR SIR: — The passing of the measure contained in the resolutions and address, has given occasion to various speculations in every party amongst our various factions, considering what ground it may best afford to their own respective plans of measures. I, who profess to be, and am determined to remain, — a single — unconnected individual, and to belong to none of these factions — none of those vortices which form the chaos of our present politics, have had in contem-

plation the effect that this measure hath *immediately*, and the consequence that it must draw after it *in futuro*. I consider that it hath drawn into question, whether those rights and privileges, which the Petition of rights in 1628 — the act for abolishing the Star Chamber — the Habeas Corpus act — the Bill of rights — have declared to be the undoubted rights of the British subject of this realm and Kingdom — do extend, or do not extend to the colonies. If royal charters, and the royal assent to provincial laws, cannot extend them otherwise than as [they are] extended by the law of the British parliament (and yet parliament *hath not* extended them), I am totally at a loss, and without my compass, as to any one cardinal point in my plan of Liberty. I have therefore had it in contemplation to contrive to bring forward in parliament some motion which may call forth the consideration of this matter, [in order] that (even if the House should not choose to do any thing direct and express on the point, which I think they will avoid), we at least may feel the sense of it; and for that purpose to make a motion for leave to bring in a bill, as a kind of bill of rights, *for extending those statutes to his Majesty's dominions in America*. This is *in itself* attended with *many difficulties* and *some dangers*. But the difficulties I meet with, are the way and means to accommodate my measure so to the respective views and schemes of the

several parties of men, all differing with one another, as to get them to join me, if it were only so far as to get a debate upon it, that the House may at least be apprised of *the state of the case*, and not go on blindfold. To explain to you these difficulties, I must develop the several *real views* of all these several parties, which the compass of a letter would not permit; nor would it be safe, as *any such explanation* would be disavowed and contradicted. The ostensible declarations are what all justify themselves upon, while the real esoteric springs are what give motion and direction to every step taken. However, I am to have a conversation with Mr. Y——ke next week, to whom I shall state *the whole case*, in order to establish the necessity of something being done.

In the mean time, upon the House going into Committee last night, upon the *nullum tempus* bill, for quieting grantees against claims of the Crown, I moved for an instruction to the Committee, for extending the provisions of this bill to America. I did it more to open the ground on *the doctrine of acts extending, or not*, than in hopes of obtaining it. The bill is passed without naming America, and it was (though no vote was come to on the point) the general sense of gentlemen—that it does not extend;—so now I have got my ground whereon to state my doubts of *the danger of this doctrine*, and shall take the

first opportunity of doing it. The question was new, even to our lawyers; and one of the *very first* of these told me, it *was of that magnitude* he would hope for time to consider it, before I should bring it on.

The messenger who is to carry my letter to the ship tells me I shall be too late,—so, God bless you —

I am your affect'e

and real friend,

T. P.

I have not even time to read my letter over, so you must correct my pen. I am advised by all parties, not to bring forward any motion on the statutes of the 37 and 38 of Ed. 3rd.

LETTER IV.

LONDON, 19 March, 1769.

DEAR SIR:—As I did not care to mix any thing in my letter of this day foreign to the purpose of it, I trouble you with this additional one, on two or three points which I have touched upon in my former letters.

The measure of extending, with amendments, the two old acts of Edward 3rd to America, which I told you I had in contemplation, has been entirely laid aside, upon this prudential reason,—that the following the example set by

Government, of reviving old laws, in order to extend the purport of them to America, although meant to carry the antidote as well as the poison, might yet lead to dangerous consequences.

I had mentioned to you another measure, which I and some friends had in contemplation; but as it depends on a question of such magnitude, both in the matter and the consequences of it, and as some of our first lawyers have declared themselves not fully masters of it, but that they wish further time to consider it, it has been upon every account thought best to defer it over to the next session.

As to the matter of the repeal of the late revenue laws, the agents have had it under consideration, whether or not they should present a petition for that purpose, and have finally determined not to do it, finding no encouragement, at this time, from any set or party of men, to that end. I do not believe that it can be brought on directly in this session, in any shape whatsoever. However, Mr. Fuller and I have it under consideration, whether something in part may not be done on this subject; but as the parliament is to rise so early this year, I much doubt whether it will be possible to bring any thing forward on this subject, and therefore can give you no hopes about it.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

LETTER V.

35 Letters in all to Dr. Cooper, and }
 1 Letter to Samuel Adams. }

LONDON, Albemarle street, March 22, '69.

(Most private.)¹

DEAR SIR:— My letters which accompany this, I mean not only for your own information, but for any use, or any good purpose which they can be applied to; and if you can conveniently, or any way properly do it, I should not be sorry that the one concerning the quartering bill, with its enclosures, was communicated to those of New York with whom you or your friends communicate.

That the principle upon which this bill goes, should be received by the House, and with such general approbation,— that part of the ministry, Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, should join me in it,— and that the rest of the ministry should not oppose it, but let it pass, is a symptom of better temper than one could have expected in the same session in which *those resolutions* against our Province passed,— is a symptom that I hope the colonists will avail themselves of, and profit of. They gain ground by it;— *that* they ought

¹ Several of the letters of Junius to Woodfall, are marked "Private," and the postscript to No. 40 (v. i. 228), "Secret,"— while his letter to Lord Chatham, of Jan. 14, 1772, first published in *The Chatham Correspondence*, is marked "Most secret."— F. G.

to take post upon, and make their own; — it is in their power, if heaven does not mean otherwise.

I dare say many letters will mention a clause which Lord Barrington opened to the House, as intending to offer it, but which he withdrew.

Whatever there might have been wrong in it, he is not hostile to the colonies. I owe my success, in getting the present quartering bill accepted, to his candour on this subject; for if it had been opposed by the Secretary at War, ministry and the majority would not have let it pass. Besides, he not only avowed the principle of letting the colonies act *as to mode of doing* in this case, but said — he liked it best, and hoped one day to see this principle adopted in the case of taxation also.

But there are many people who have no other way of making themselves appear to be your friends, and at the same time of pointing out the benefit and necessity of their friendship and services, but by telling you what enemies you have, and how they are active to counteract them. This is almost the whole craft of Agents, or those who wish to be so — to set you, and keep you at variance with many persons well disposed to you, and who would be your friends. In short, I am of opinion with Dr. Franklin, — I do not see what good any agent can do as matters now stand; [but] I do see how often, and how much they may injure you, and your cause. I do think they are a needless expense, and a dangerous *Trust*.

I dare say you wonder that I have never given you any account of our system of politics here, or what it is we mean, or what we would or do intend to do. You might as well expect, that if I was shown Des Cartes' chaos of vortices, I should tell you what worlds, and what kind of system that would produce in the fortuitous concourse and collision of vortices. We have neither knowledge, nor system, nor principle; we have but one word (I will not call it an idea), that is — our *sovereignty*; and it is like some word to a madman, which, whenever mentioned, throws him into his ravings, and brings on a paroxysm. But the less prudent we are here, the more it becomes you to be so, on your side the water. For, believe me, there are yet many good men, who belong to none of the factions, who are serious and grieved, and who will — (if it be not the pleasure of the Supreme God to put an end to us,) — who will, I repeat it, get more and more into lead on these matters. The still voice will be heard at last — I hope it will [not] be too late first.

I have not had a letter from you this age, — I hope none have miscarried. I hope, if you have written, that you observed the caution I gave you, of giving your letters to those who would deliver them to my own hands, and not put them into any post whatever. Under this precaution, pray let me hear from you, and write as I do — pouring out all my heart. I beg my respects to all

friends, — to those especially who are nearest and dearest to you.

I am, in every sense of affection and esteem,

Your friend,

T. POWNALL.

If any reports or letters should raise an alarm; as if there was any design here to make any change in your charter, believe it not. — It will never take place here, whatever people elsewhere may imagine: attacks of that kind are steps which ministers do not wantonly hazard.

LETTER VI.

LONDON, April 27, 1769.

(Private.)

DEAR SIR: — Finding the vessel did not sail this morning, and that I have a safe opportunity of conveyance to you, I add this most private and confidential letter to you.

First, as to our correspondence: — Although in point of safety and honour there is not a word which passes between us which might not be read in the market-place, yet in point of prudence many things may pass in the confidence of two friends, which may do more harm than good, if publicly known without that reference to the pur-

port and end of them, which, in private correspondences, people never have occasion to refer to. On this head, I must repeat my caution to you, both as to what I write to you, as well as to what you write to me — we cannot take too much care. My correspondence, by some means or other, by extracts, copies from memory, or perhaps by the originals having gone through bad hands before they arrived at you, has been known to Ministry, and they have told the King, that I correspond with *the Sons of Liberty*. Having heard this, I took occasion to tell them, in the House of Commons, that I did so correspond, and would continue to do so; and I have since let them know, that if they will be at the trouble of copying my letters, they should have copies of all that I have sent, — and, to save them the trouble of that infamous breach of trust by which they get at private correspondence, I would, if they desired it, send them copies of all that I shall write to America for the future. I am sure if I could hope they would fairly carry them to the King, I would write all I think, and spare not, — by which, I will be proud to say, he would have a fairer state of the business, and better advice in it, than any he gets now.¹ However, you cannot be [too] cautious about showing my let-

¹ May we not here detect the embryo idea of Junius's celebrated letter to the King, published on the 19th of the following December? — F. G.

ters, whatever use you make of the contents of them, as it is not any thing I have to apprehend from my letters, but from false and misrepresented accounts of them. In like manner, never send me any letter wherein you wish to have the same caution observed, unless you can send it by some person, who will deliver it with *his own hands*. Your's of Feb. 18, I received on the 15th instant: — enclosed I send you the seal, *with which* it came sealed to me. You'll know if it be your's.

You Americans will not want to be told at this time that every thing here is Party.¹ Nor can the Americans be at a loss to feel, if they do not see, how their interest in this country depends upon, and is affected, by the views and interests of such parties here, so far as it is to depend upon, and be affected by any movements that can be set a going *here*. If your affairs cannot come forward on their own ground, and be led by a national spirit, what interest — what safety can you have in negotiating, or in seeking any connection with *any of our parties here*? — Nor will you receive any aid from any *Bodies of Men* whatever; for, while you are labouring to relieve yourselves from one burden, you must of course become second and subordinate to such *parties*, instead of the whole.

As you may expect still less aid from Minis-

¹ “*You Barristers* are too apt to be civil, etc.” — *Junius*, letter lxiii. v. ii. 389.

ters, so is the danger much greater of any applications to, or negotiations with them.

Towards Government itself, you cannot observe too guarded an obedience. On the other hand, I can see no use, and if no use, I see no wisdom — perhaps there may be danger — in petitioning for a repeal, or in any correspondence or negotiation whatever, between the people and government: — leave that to the Crown and its ministers here, with its servants, etc., on your side the water. What have you to do, but to be, and to continue, good subjects, and doing your duty, according to law and your constitutions; — and — let government do as it pleases, till it finds its own interest in adopting and promoting yours.

In matters of *politics*, as well as of *economy*¹ and *supply*, the old stoic adage should be the motto and the maxim of the colonies: — *ne te quæsiveris extra*.

Upon the whole of the above, I own I am confirmed in my opinion — that the Colonies should not have any agents here, for the purpose of application or negotiation; and that in these times of difficulty, no agent should be furnished by you with any powers which may conclude you. As I see no prudence, so I see no great safety in this. People with such characters are too apt to convert

¹ In the original edition of the letters of Junius, the first letter in this word is invariably the diphthong *æ*. And the same remark applies to the Governor's printed works. — F. G.

their powers to their own importance, and their own interest. These powers are apt to make such people better worth purchasing *who can sell others*. I speak this of the general course of human nature, and do not mean any reference to any particulars.

On the other hand, if the *people of the Colonies* fixed on some particular friend or patron, with whom they might correspond, who might send them every necessary intelligence, and might in the mean time be watchful for their interest *in general*, and interpose and act for it *in particular*, either 1st in Council, or 2ndly in Parliament, or 3rdly who might be empowered, if any, matters arose which should have any tendency to bring their interests and concerns into the judicial courts, to appoint an Attorney or Solicitor, and to employ lawyers from time to time as the cases might require, I think all that *the people* have to do in appointing agents would be answered. I will close my advice with a [passage] from Struvius's *Historia Juris*, where — speaking of the Roman colonies — he says, *Habebant istæ ex illustribus Romanis suos patronos, ex instituto Romuli, qui causam illorum in senatu agerent,* — and it would always be the interest of the people of the colonies, to take care that such, their patron, had a seat in parliament, and was no place-man.

Secret as all the above is, and should be, I

leave it to your prudence, as to the use you'll
make of it, and am,

Your most affectionate friend,
and faithful

T. POWNALL.

LETTER VII.

Albemarle street, LONDON, May 9, '69.

DEAR, SIR:— Yesterday our session closed,
and enclosed you have the King's speech.

The two points relating to America are — expressing satisfaction that Parliament approves the measures which ministry took in the Boston expedition, and in the assurances of support in the *prosecution* of those measures.

In the first place, it does not appear that any further steps are to be taken *in that line*.

You will observe still that it is a settled mode of speech with ministry, in the face of day, to call the opposition in America, in which the whole are united, the designs of a *few Factionous and Seditious*; and that the whole drift of ministry is to divide you amongst yourselves, by driving some into desperation, and betraying others into a *betraying of their own nest*, into two parties, — the *Seditious*, and the *well-disposed*, — to

give strength and lead to the latter, by holding out every idea of support of the highest kind to the whole, and of reward to particulars who can succeed to lead the whole under their lead.

The *desire*, thrown out by way of bait, is, that the Americans may be persuaded to take the ground which ministry are, I understand, negotiating, both with those who they think can take a lead amongst you, on your side the water, and with those who they think have a lead and influence with you from hence, and which they want to stand on. They see the tide is turning. The experiment which I made, by moving for the repeal of the revenue law, showed that, — [and] that the people of England are determined to make it up with their American brethren, — and so ministry, as well as *other parties*, want to make a merit of it.

If this matter should get into any wrong channel, or be conducted upon any ground *but its own ground*, some old party amongst yourselves, or some party here, who will make a property of you, will *get the lead of your affairs*, both here and in your own country.

Sir Francis Bernard is recalled, and is to be provided for here. Mr. Hutchinson is to officiate as Commander-in-Chief for some time, and if matters succeed, will perhaps succeed as Governor.

Your situation grows every [day] more and

more critical; — I say critical and do not mean dangerous, — and therefore, caution and watchfulness are all that is necessary — but these are necessary.

I do not care to hazard my opinion as to the conduct to be observed by America towards the British merchants, nor as to the conduct to be expected of them. Dr. Franklyn and I are of one opinion. He talks of coming over to America this year. Words will better explain that subject than writing can.

I find my youngest brother, Edward, who is a captain in the 34th regiment, means to sell out, and settle in America. I highly approve a design which I should myself put in execution, as soon as I could dispose of my estate here, if I were in a situation in life which left me to my own liberty on this head.¹

My son-in-law, Capt. Fawkenor,² who has been in Corsica, and lived some time with Paoli, in the strictest confidence and friendship, and who is in a most unreserved correspondence with him, and who is a perfect fanatic in the cause of liberty, means to make the tour of America this

¹ Junius's (Misc.) letter, intimating that he had sold out of the funds, and vested the proceeds in real estate, was dated 19th August, 1768. — F. G.

² Gov. P. married Lady Fawkenor on the 3rd of August, 1765, and Captain F. was her son by her first husband. The Captain was therefore the Governor's *step-son*, not his *son-in-law*. The same error is to be found in the Governor's will. — F. G.

year or next;— when he does I shall particularly recommend him to you. If Lady Fawkenor could bring herself to consent to my coming over for six or eight months, I would come with him myself;— I most earnestly desire it. I have many things to say which there is no writing; besides, I want to lay in a root for my own settling amongst you, which I am most seriously and religiously determined to do, if any stroke of Providence should dissolve me from the only tie which keeps me here.

I beg my most sincere respects to all my friends, and am, in every sense of regard and affection,

Your friend,

T. POWNALL.

11th.— P. S.— If there be any truth in what is given out, that ministry mean this summer to form a system for the government and administration of American affairs, and to revise all the laws, charters, etc., etc., your having some agent of weight and knowledge for the purpose will be necessary;— but his powers should be well guarded, and he— thoroughly instructed, both with ostensible and *private instructions*.

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LETTER VIII.

LONDON, May 25, '69.

DEAR SIR:— Since my having written to you at the rising of Parliament, and stated fully to you my opinion of the state of things, and what I think ought to be the conduct of those in America who would guard its interest against any surprise, one of the steps which I did apprehend they would have to guard against, has been taken by ministry.

[The remainder of this letter being transcribed, with some variations of expression, and additions, into one apparently written a few days later, but without a date, (and which in the binding has been misplaced after a letter dated "April 10, '72,") we take up the latter, the fourth paragraph in which, beginning "Although our Ministers, etc.," indicates where the remainder of this one begins. This letter bears no signature, but merely a —.]

DEAR SIR:— I had your letter by Capt. Scott, who delivered it to me himself. I am much obliged to you for your free, fair and candid communications.

I wish for nothing but to serve the Province, and to be in that situation in which I could most

serve it as Governor. Under the present spirit of politicks I could do no good to you, but must certainly render myself useless. Although I am here set down, and settled for life, in a situation which no interest could tempt me to relinquish, yet if Government here would let me undertake the reconciliation of matters on my own plan, by ascertaining the rights of the colonies, and fixing the system for the administration of their affairs on the *true old ground*, and leave me to take my own way of doing it, I would chearfully,¹ in any character, devote a few years to it, and should bless my own heart in the attempt, whatever might be the success. But that time is past; — you are destined to be the sport of parties, *as Ireland is*. You will, I see it clearly, be turned over from one faction to another, and will ever lose as much as you can get by every turn.

My last letter to you was on the subject of the repeal of the revenue act, — lest my letter should have miscarried, I will transcribe it.

Although our ministers, who may be safely said to advise, if not to make the King's speech, thundered out anathemas at the opening of the last sessions, — although the two H——s of P——t have, to the King's and ministers' intire satisfaction, been very angry in words and resolutions, —

¹ *Chearfully* — So Junius wrote the word, invariably, in his original edition. In G. Woodfall's editions, it has, with two or three exceptions, been corrected to *cheerfully*. — F. G.

and although neither ministers would hear, nor the H. of C. scarce listen to the proposal of a repeal of the revenue act, *as I* moved it, — and although the ostensible reason given was the unseasonableness of the time, yet a very few days after Parliament was prorogued, the Cabinet took up the resolution of circulating to all the Governors and people in America, that the ministry do intend to bring forward the repeal next sessions. Upon which I observe, that the unseasonableness of the time was not the true and real reason why my motion was not accepted. No! — The true reason is, they did not like the fair ground which I took for it. They do not like to give up the maxim — that Government *here*, and from hence, should raise a revenue for the support of civil government, independent of the people *there*. They do not mean a general repeal of the act —

whose principles,

purposes,

and means — are the grievances complained of. They mean only to take off *some* of the duties which have raised little or nothing, viz., those on paper, glass, and painters' colours, in order to please the merchants here, and to discourage amongst you any attempts of manufacturing, or of abstaining from English imports. They mean to divide you amongst yourselves, and to give a lead to the *well-disposed*.

The repeal which I proposed — upon the

grounds on which I did propose it — would have had a real, political, and truly commercial effect. The repeal, as now held out *as a favor*, will prove a Trojan horse: — therefore remember the cautious, unhappily not regarded [warning?] which Laocoon gave —

Creditis avectos hostes ? aut ulla putatis
 Dona carere dolis Danaüm ? sic notus Ulißes ?
 Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi,
 Aut hæc in nostros fabricata est *machina* muros,
 * Inspectura domos, —

Remember, the first effect of that Grecian favor was to divide. Those who fainted and grew weary of defending their country, deceived by the well-disposed, who pretended to *seek peace* and to ensue it, were ready — eager to accept and embrace the offered mischief, and were for taking it into the very heart of their city: —

At Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
 Aut pelago Danaüm insidias, suspectaq : dona,
 Præcipitare jubent, subjectisq : urere flammis ;
 Aut terebrare cavas uteri et *tentare latebras* —

to examine into the real — *internal purpose* of it. Read the whole story, and think of the event. But some will say — what then are we to do ? I answer — *do nothing* ; — neither petition nor negotiate, — neither ask nor accept favors, — neither

* Internal taxes. — Note by Governor P.

seek nor be led into *connections out of your own boundaries*; — *lye bye*, and things will come right of themselves. But if you go on (as I fear too many are deceived and flattered to think right,) in mixing your affairs with our parties and factions here, I must repeat what I said at the beginning of my letter — you will *for all time to come* be — as Ireland ever has been for all time past — the sport of parties.

[*The above completes the transcription of the former letter.*]

As I wrote to Mr. Hancock, or some of my friends in America, about two or three years ago, in consequence of a conversation which I had with the late Archbishop, that there was no design *at that time* of introducing Bishops into America, I shall always think it my duty to apprise them of every motion that hath the least tendency that way. I do not believe that there is any immediate design of taking that measure up *at this time*, but there seems to me something like *a laying of ground* for it. The settlement of ecclesiastical matters in Quebec, the publication of the late Archbishop's letter to the late Lord Walpole, just at this time, has something singular in the coincidence. As I was, in consequence of the conversation which I had with the late Archbishop, convinced that the design was postponed, if not laid aside, I did not insert in my *Administration of the Colonies*, that part respect-

ing the measure of Bishops in America. I shall now think it my duty to publish separately my sentiments on that subject. I have had a conversation with the present Lord Walpole about it, and have desired a copy of his father's letter, to which this is said to be an answer. He will look for it, and I fancy will let me publish it, together with mine.¹ I do not mean to take the question up as a partizan, but to consider its effects as to the purposes of peace and union — as to the effect it would have on the Church of England itself — as to the effect it will have in rendering the colonists more and more alienate.

Enclosed I send you the pamphlet. I beg my respects to all friends, and am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and real friend,

T. POWNALL.

LETTER IX.

Albemarle street, LONDON, Sept. 25, '69.

DEAR SIR:— I am now to acknowledge the favor of your several letters. . . .

I found people in Ireland very curious after the state of things in America, and much interested

¹ The letter of "the late Archbishop," was — "A letter to the Right Hon. Horace Walpole, Esq.," written Jan'y 9, 1750-51,

in the state of the contest between Great Britain and her colonies. I found them impressed with a fellow feeling for America, as the fate of their own country, so far as it is *one of the dependencies* of the supreme government, must, in some measure, coincide with that of America — so far as the American fate shall *take train* from the decision of the present contest. But let me caution my friends of the colonies, that the Irish rights and liberties stand upon a basis to which I hope never to see those of America narrowed. Their cause stands upon ground which I hope no false friend of the colonies will ever be able to deceive the colonists into taking. The spirit of their politics derives from, and operates by motives to which corruption, faction, and venality have [not] yet reduced those of America. I have always preached up to my American friends the *danger* of alliances, — and here my caution is more and more necessary. However, you will be right to profit of every assistance; but, take it as assist-

concerning Bishops in America, by Thomas Secker, LL. D. who was confirmed Archbishop of Canterbury in April, 1758, and died Aug. 3, 1768. Mr. Walpole was afterwards created Lord Walpole, of Woolterton, in Norfolk, and died Feb. 5, 1757, when he was succeeded by his son, Horatio, the above mentioned "present Lord Walpole," — (who, by the bye, was son-in-law of the *Duke of Devonshire*. "I shall be glad," says Junius to Woodfall, Oct. 5, 1769, "to see the packet you speak of. It cannot come from *the Cavendishes*, though there be no end of the family. They would not be so silly as to put their arms on the cover.")

v. i. 200. — F. G.

ance, and not as alliance. I had while in Ireland several conversations with some of the leading men in their Parliament, particularly on the subject of the augmentation of the Irish army, which the Crown desires, and which is not yet complied with; — the present establishment is 12,000 to 15,000 men; — amongst other arguments against this, you will find the following will [be] applied next sessions in Ireland: — that 12,000 men, if applied to the purpose for which they are supposed to be raised, that is — for the protection of Ireland, and the English government there, are sufficient, — if the measure of withdrawing the men of this army to extra purposes is to continue, an augmentation *ad infinitum* would be to no purpose, so far as respects them, — and if they are desired to raise and pay an additional number of troops, for the purposes of . . . of American expeditions, they will not accede and be accessory to such purposes. But if they can have any assurance that the additional number of men now desired and raised, shall be as guards and garrisons to Ireland, or for the immediate defence of Great Britain, if attacked, they will agree to the augmentation. They will try to clog the augmentation with some such clause, and will avowedly give the reason as above.

In my way from Ireland, I visited our great manufacturing towns — Wolverhampton and Birmingham. They sensibly feel the effect of

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your agreements against importing, and complain of those who reduced you to the necessity of these measures. Some of them told me, the redress would now come too late — their labouring people began to hanker after the good, cheap living and freedom of America, and several would never be easy till they got there. I am convinced, that if the American societies were to establish a fund appropriated to the supporting English manufacturers, and their families, who should come to America, until a settlement and employment could be found for them — if such measure, when established, was made known in England, and proper correspondencies settled here, to forward such sober, industrious, and *useful* manufacturers as were desirous of going — if encouragement were given to masters who gave them their passage — a whole flood of such is ready to pour in upon you, — that although your ships do not at present freight with our manufactures, they would come full-freighted with manufacturers.

This was the method taken, by act of parliament, in Richard the 2nd's time, when the Flanders manufactures first began to come over to England; — look into the statutes and you will find it so. If I were at this moment, what, at this moment, I wish to be — established in America on an *American root*, for on no other shall I ever come there — I would establish such a fund; for there can be no crime in one part of the King's

dominions trying to rival another in the spirit of trade and manufactures, so long as all coincide to the same interest. I think also so long as any set of people can be said to be at liberty to judge what it is they want to purchase, and to judge of the terms on which they are to purchase, nobody can impute it as a crime against the sellers, if the buyers choose to abstain from the purchase of such articles as the sellers have clogged with terms of sale, that these buyers do not approve of, and will not agree to. On the contrary, the abstaining from the importing such articles as you can do without, or ought to raise, and make amongst yourselves, has a home merit. Thus much, even as a British member of parliament, I may and shall venture to say; but as an American, I will transcribe a remark from Sir William Temple:—

“ It is no constant rule, that trade makes richer. For there may be a trade that *impoverishes a nation*, as it is not going often to market that enriches the countryman: but on the contrary, if every time he comes there, he buys to a greater value than he sells, he grows the poorer the oftener he goes. The only and certain scale of riches arising from trade in a nation, is the proportion of what is exported for the consumption of others, to what is imported for their own. The true ground of this proportion lies in *the general industry and parsimony* of a people, or, in

the contrary, of both." — See the whole of the passage, in the 6th chapter of his remarks on the United Provinces.¹

It is not your advantage to be a *trading people*, if all the profits of your labour are to derive to others. It is to the disadvantage of Great Britain if you cease to trade. If Great Britain were to shut up all your ports, and to exclude you from the ocean, it would, by that very act, drive you to the exercise of your proper interest — a trade like that of China, founded on the internal interchange of the various manufactures of its various provinces, lying, as those of America do, under various climates.

While the association of œconomy against importing luxuries, etc., circulated only amongst the merchants, I had no great trust or apprehension about it; — importing is their business, and they must live by it. Their resolutions therefore against such, could act only as temporary; but I did always believe, that the spirit which began, and even grew up in the maritime and trading towns — not in its natural soil — would soon take root in the country, which, when it had once done it, never could be again eradicated. What I expected, you tell me has come to pass; and it is upon this crisis that the fate of the eastern and

¹ Viz. *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*; first edit. London, 1673, 8vo. — 7th edit. London, 1705, 8vo. — F. G.

western world will take *its turn*, and *from this moment* that fate is decided.

By the papers which you have sent me, and by the train which I understand the negotiations in favor of the province are to run, I am the more and more convinced of the propriety, and even safety of the advice, which I have so often repeated, against all paper — all writing — and all negotiating. Where a people are so circumstanced, that they cannot always give the real reason, they will always give an advantage against themselves, when they give the ostensible one. Besides, I am sorry to feel, what I shall not say, that even the ostensible is not conducted to the best advantage for the Province; — it may, and will perhaps, serve the purposes of some faction here, but must, on the ground to which it is now warped, make a mere tool — a mere cat's-paw of the interest of the Province, for the sake of interests which never can be united with it. I am really grieved to see it, but the repeated experience of every day gives one to see (without being the wiser for it), that a people always put more trust in — and have more love for the friends of their passions, than in those of their real interest.

By the conduct of Ministry last year, and in the beginning of this, there are points arisen into controversy — into question — and [they] remain

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still most dangerously in question, which respect every right and privilege —

- that the petition of rights —
- the act for abolishing the star-chamber —
- the habeas corpus act —
- the bill of rights —
- the act of settlement — do establish and confirm.

There are rights and liberties, which depend upon the constitution itself, arisen into doubt and contest, and all these are passed by, to engage in a personal dispute of mere trifling *personal* consequence, which will either have no end, or a bad one.

On the subject of the real grievances of the Colonies I am now employed, — and if the colonists would assist their friends in their own cause, a sure and lasting security might be obtained: — however, assisted or unassisted — obtained or not obtained — the remedy shall be sought.

Paoli is come to England, and Government and ministry have taken him by the hand, and he is so far in their hands.

I was desired to advise my friends in America, that a new discovery of making alkaline salts from sea-water, in so easy and cheap a manner has been now made, as must put a total stop to the use of pot-ash amongst our manufacturers. It has been discovered by the same gentleman

who invented the method of procuring oil of vitriol. The knowledge of this fact may be of use, to prevent any people putting either their property or labour in the manufacture of potash. Perhaps people will not believe the fact, and will of course not listen to the caution;—but, as I was desired, I have given the caution.

Pray let me from time to time hear from you, and believe me most sincerely,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

P. S.—I this moment by Mr. S. Elliot receive your favor of Aug. the 3rd. - Your recommendations I shall be happy to honor.

LETTER X.

LONDON, Albemarle street, Sept. 25, '69.

DEAR SIR:—I am extremely happy that I did write you word, that I declined wishing to be appointed Agent. I first wished it, from the same motive from which I wished to serve the Province; because, being entrusted with, and being personally deputed for the interest and concerns of the Province, would have entitled me personally to have interposed, and to have been consulted, where my interposition and advice might

have essentially served the Cause. I wished it — secondly, as such an appointment, if general enough to be esteemed unanimous, would have done me honor, both from your opinion of my knowledge of your affairs, and from your confidence in my attachment to the interest of the People. It would not have dis-served the cause of the Province, to have given to the world a proof, that the People of the Province are so far from what they are held forth to be — disaffected to the government of the mother-country, and of the Crown — that where a Governor, *a servant of the Crown*, has administered their affairs with a spirit which united the interest of the Crown and People, they think that very Governor the very person whom they, of their own choice, will entrust, *as their servant*.

I saw my way clearly, how I could serve the Province, — I saw, as clearly, how it was not, and would not be served, and I wished to be enabled to serve it really, without regard to any of the parties or the factions which will ruin this country, and hazard yours. But under these desires I never meant that my friends should canvass for me, or make it a matter of contest. The contest — nay, the very canvass would have dishonored the honor. I wished from it. If I could not have it without competition, the competition would have taken away the very authority that the appointment should have given me here in

your behalf; — besides, that under such a predicament the losing faction, in constantly counteracting me, must have counteracted the interest of the Province. I wished only to be clothed with the means of serving the Province, the doing of which, and the honor and pleasure which must have redounded to me, and resided in my breast from doing it, was the only reward I sought. I aimed at no emolument — at no interested view from it. But of this no more, — it was just necessary to have said thus much.

I shall still invariably continue to be, and to act as the real friend of the Province. I am now at liberty to do it in any way which I think will best serve its *real interest*: — whereas, if I had entered into any compact with the General Court, I must have esteemed myself bound to have done it, from time to time, in such way as the *leading interest of men* would have required, which, at various times, has much hurt the *interests of the Province*.

I wonder I have never received a line from the Town. There is a transient pleasure in knowing that one's services are acceptable, especially when they have been effectual; but the permanent pleasure arises from a consciousness of having done it *as a duty*, and not as pleasuring any one, or any set of men.

Pray give my most affectionate regards to all my old friends. If ever you hear from — write

to — or see my old friend Mr. Tyng, tell him I shall never cease to honor and esteem him, which I do the more from contemplating his retirement. I most truly condole with him for his late loss. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

LETTER XI.

LONDON, Albemarle street, Oct. 9, 1769.

DEAR SIR: — I write to you as standing in the same predicament with myself as to opinions, namely, considering that which is nearest to right and truth *in things* to be best *for men in politics*, without ever looking to that which leading parties of men *think to be*, or wish *to be considered* as best. But there is a material difference in our situations as to practice. I am totally withdrawn, and remote from mixing in with the *business* of the Province, and do not find myself participating in that degree of confidence with *the men* of it, as might be useful to them. Your situation, relations and alliances must necessarily, and indeed ought to mix you with them; and therefore, when I have at this distance — in my

letters — disapproved any part of the conduct of our friends, as comparing it with the *ultimate right* there, you may be able to see, and to say how I am mistaken, considering the necessary *digestion of business*, passing through men. When I suggest what I think to be right, your relative situation may explain to you why that very *right* may be wrong; or even if it should be right, and what a dispassionate friend to the Province would wish to be done, the friends with whom you are connected can tell you why that is not the nail which will drive.

Under this explanation, I will give you, without disguise, my free and open opinion of the present state of things.

If it were necessary to the Assembly, for ostensible reasons, respecting their constituents and the people of the Province at large, *to write, and to print* messages, remonstrances, etc., it should have been confined to the Province. I do assure you that (whatever people on this side of the water, who want to negotiate with your grievances, to their own emolument, may tell you), your writings, and your coming forward in a paltry, personal quarrel, unworthy your state, will operate to no good, and turn out to your disadvantage.

If the Province had stood with that patient courage which a conscious sense of not being wrong always gives, and had contemned, rather

than answered suggestions which could not warrant any charge against them, and had demanded the charge to be made and brought forward in legal proof, such measure (as I advised) would have had better effect here, than what has been done. For people here, comparing the insufficiency of suggestions which cannot amount to a charge of *any crime*, with the collected and assured confidence and silence which the province and town observed (except in calling for the charge), would have conceived a conviction of your innocence and rectitude, which no writings and arguments will give. On the contrary, such writings, from some defect in the matter, or even the mode of them, may give advantage against the Province. So much for the defensive.

But they have another part to act, which they have not of themselves yet taken up, nor does it appear that any one has suggested to them,—that is, *A Claim of Rights*. For, besides the claim of not being taxed but by yourselves, or by deputies of your own election, have there not been brought into question, and [do there not] remain in a dangerous state of indecision, three important points?

1. If any late conduct or advice, by referring to an old act, made for the tryal of treasons committed *out of the realm*, by such persons as had no legal *resiancy* but *within the realm*, and then stating the subject in America as *under the pre-*

dicament of the case made by that act: By applying the purview of a statute which was made to bring *subjects of the realm*, who had committed treasons *out of the realm* (in places where was no criminal jurisdiction to which they might be amenable), to tryal within the realm, under that criminal jurisdiction to which by their legal resiancy and allegiance they were alone amenable; by applying this to the case of subjects whose legal resiancy is without the realm, and who are by that resiancy and their allegiance amenable to a criminal jurisdiction *without the realm*, authorised and empowered to try all capital offences, and to give judgment thereupon without appeal; by applying this statute so as to take up a proceeding for which there is *no legal process*, either by common or statute law, and at the same time superseding the jurisdiction of the legal courts, and of the laws, established without the realm, by construction on such doubtful cases, so as to take away the benefit of the writ of Habeas Corpus, by which some of the essential rights of British subjects, as enjoyed and possessed within the realm, are brought into doubt, — is it not a serious matter? — Does there not arise a Claim, which ought no longer to remain in a dangerous and presumptuous state of indecision?

2. Is it not a serious matter, whether appeals are to lye from the judicatory of the Province, in

real actions, to the King in Council, whereby the lands, tenements, and hereditaments of British subjects may be questioned by the Lords of the privy Council, contrary to the Petition of Rights, 16 Car. I. cap. 10?

3. Ought it to remain any longer in doubt (much less in practice), whether a military power and command, exercising law-martial, can be legally authorised to act, or can legally act, in any province where there is, as of perfect right there ought to be, a Civil Government, invested with the regalia, according to the laws and constitution of England, in a way independent of, and superseding the command of the civil supreme magistrate of that government? If the people are entitled to the rights of a British subject, their supreme civil magistrate [*vide* Adminis. of the Colonies, edit. 1768, page 85, 86, etc.] must have of right, as in fact he has, the perfect exercise of the regalia. If these can be granted *in part*, or — being granted in full, ample, and perfect manner, can be afterward superseded, in part or in whole, by any military command, — may, or may not, a Military Government be so far forth established?

Are not the rights contained in these three quæries serious matter of Claim? — Is not this Ground which will not deceive you? — Is not this matter of Remonstrance or Petition, which, in the hands of some friend to the colonies, who has

studied these points, may be wrought up to the establishment of your political liberty ?

If these points be once avowedly brought forward in claim, they must be decided — and they cannot be decided against you. Whereas, on the other hand, if the question of the revenue laws should be huddled up by some compromise amongst parties, which I think, from what happened last sessions, there is some reason to imagine may happen, these never having been brought forward, will remain suspended in the state they are.

Consider this, and make what use you think is best for the true and real peace and safety of the British rights in America, as by law established; and, if there be any part that our friends shall wish me to take to that end, I shall do it readily in their behalf, — but I shall do it also, from principle, of my own mere motion, independent of all parties and views of men.

I beg my respects to all friends who wish to be remembered to or by me.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. P——.

LETTER XII.

LONDON, 5 Dec., 1769.

DEAR SIR, AND MY VERY GOOD FRIEND:—

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th Sept., by Captain Freeman's ship—for you will see by the post-mark on the cover, which I now inclose, that notwithstanding he had promised to deliver it to my own hand, he put it ashore at Deal; so that had it contained any matter of confidence, that you would have wished to have been confined between yourself and me, we should have had another confidant, viz., Government, thro' whose hands the letter most certainly has passed.

On the subject of the Agency, I have said so much in my former letters, that I shall repeat no more; and really wish to drop the subject, as I never meant to have any thing to do with a matter that was to become a subject of contention. An unanimous reference of their interest to me, would have done me honor, and enabled me in return to have done them the more service. But a matter of contest could neither have done them nor me service, but must have been a dishonor to me.

I am very glad to find that your people begin to be sensible of the danger of suffering their in-

terests to be governed, or even influenced, by any faction on this side the water; and I hope that the sense of that will work itself with a principle of action, which may prevent such danger.

You tell me that the merchants *remain* firm. — I wish they had *remained* firm, and *not done more*. Every man certainly has a right to withdraw his custom from any person or persons whose trade he does not approve, and certainly has a right to judge what he will, and what he will not purchase for his own use: — But when such person, or a number of persons in a body, proceed to restrain other individuals, by compulsive measures, they do undoubtedly give an opportunity to others against themselves, which may and will be used to their disadvantage.

When I say this, I don't speak of what Government may or will do: but I know that some late steps taken at Boston, have hurt our friends there, with persons here, who, though not professed friends, were yet well disposed to have assisted and befriended them.

You know I always was of opinion, that neglecting the great points of interest and concern touching their affairs, which have of late been drawn into question, and engaging themselves with a resentment unworthy of them in a personal quarrel and dispute with their late Governor,¹ who never will or can have any further con-

¹ Sir Francis Bernard, Bart. — F. G.

nection with them, or power either to hurt or serve them, was a step which passion has hurried them into, at a time when prudence and policy would have passed by, and have engaged their whole attention to matters of infinitely greater concern. I can only repeat here that advice which I once gave, and which is now become a mere idle wish, — that they had neither written letters, nor remonstrances, nor appeals, — or suffered themselves to enter into any negotiations whatsoever, either with ministers, or their opposers in this country, but let their cause have stood on its own bottom, whilst they stood on their own defence, when properly called to it.

I hope all friends with you are well. I beg my most sincere respects to them, and am, in every sense and affection of friendship,

Your sincere friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

LETTER XIII.

LONDON, Jan. 27, '70.

DEAR SIR:— Being in the New England Coffee-house, and hearing that the master of a ship

for Rhode Island takes away his bag this evening, I just seize the opportunity to acquaint you, that I have fixed an early day (which would have been much earlier, had not the illness and death of our late Speaker¹ put off all business), to propose the *total repeal* of the late revenue-law, imposing duties in America. If your people had been more firm to their agreement, the *ground of the necessity* of doing it would have been better. I shall make no reflections on this matter. I hope I shall get my day for the motion unalterably fixed for Monday se'nnight. My endeavours to bring forward measures which will again restore the minds of the Americans to peace and confidence *must go further*. I shall, either in the Committee for the state of the nation, or when Administration lays before the House the state of his Majesty's Government in America, bring forward the two points of—

1. The Americans being supposed by certain resolutions liable to be taken from their legal resiancy to be brought to Great Britain, to be tried on imputations or suggestions of treason,—and

2. The case of the military commission of Commander-in-Chief superseding the powers (in actual command) of the supreme civil magistrate.

As the ideas of the right and liberty of the in-

¹ Viz., Sir John Cust, who resigned the Speakership of the H. of C. on the 22d of Jan., and died the same day.—F. G.

dividual, and of the political liberty and rights of the constitution are so indecisive, superficial, and vague, that scarce any here attends enough to them, so as to draw, or to judge of when drawn, any stable and true consequences in reasoning upon this subject, I have drawn up a state of the Constitutions of the Colonies, and printed a few copies to give to my friends. I inclose to you a few copies. I make no secret of my being the author of it, and even wish it as publick as I wish the beneficial purport of it to be wherever it shall be attended to and understood.

I am, your sincere and old friend,

Jan. 29. — Last night the Duke of Grafton resigned. Lord North is to be *Minister*, and First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The first mark of this change which I have experienced is — that upon asking him last night to agree to fix a day with me for my motion — as the day we *had agreed* to fix upon was now superseded by the business of the Committee *for the state of the nation* taking up that day — his answer was, that Ministry themselves were pledged to move a repeal of the law,¹ so far as the duties on *glass, paper, white-lead, red-lead,* and

¹ Viz., the Act 7 Geo. III. c. 46. — F. G.

painters' colours went. I told him that would answer *no one good purpose*, unless they repealed *all the duties*, and repealed the discontinuance of the drawback on China earthen-ware, so that no part of the act, not even the preamble, which was *really the grievance* felt, should remain, respecting these American duties levied for the purpose of revenue. The duty on tea will not be repealed — the discontinuance of the drawback on China earthen-ware is to stand — and the preamble to remain.¹

I shall oppose a partial repeal, and shall propose an amendment that goes to a repeal of the whole, — nor will I now absolutely despair, but I can give you no hopes. Mr. Alderman Trecothick is very zealous in the cause, and by his great weight and influence amongst the merchants, as well as by his interest amongst certain connexions at this end of the town, will greatly strengthen the ground.²

Your real and affectionate friend,

¹ "Yet it ought to be repealed, as an impolitic act, not as an oppressive one. It preserves the contention between the mother-country and the colonies, when every thing worth contending for is in reality given up." — *Junius to Wilkes*, No. 66, vol. i. 294. — F. G.

² *March 5, 1770*, — Lord North moved to bring in a bill to repeal so much, etc., — leaving out only the duty on tea. Gov. Pownall moved, in amendment, to introduce the words — "and on teas," — the House divided, — for the amendment, 142, — against it, 204.

April 19, Mr. Trecothick showed his zeal in the cause, by

LETTER XIV.

LONDON, March 8, '70, Albemarle street.

DEAR SIR:— I have stolen away from the House — now half-past 8 o'clock, P. M., just to send you a line in acknowledgment of the receipt of your's of the 1st, and of the 30th of January, '70. I have not time to answer either. I have a subject of the utmost importance to explain to you, but in this short note have only time to beg you to caution the good people to suspend the doing of any thing, on the grand point of the state of the military power being paramount to, and superseding the civil. The whole success in the conduct of this point will depend on the taking the *right ground*, — and therefore, I hope nothing will be done in it *by the General Court*, till the May session. Something should be done, in the mean time, by your *law-courts*, which I will explain in my next. I will act upon the best advice in England, and be sure of safe ground. I have given notice that I will bring forward the consideration of *the state of his Ma-*

moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American duty on tea; but the motion was rejected, as out of order, the question having been decided on Gov. L's motion in amendment. Lord North's bill received the Royal assent, May 19, 1770. It is the 10 Geo. III. c. 17. — F. G.

jesty's Government in North America, and that I will point out the unlawful state of the military establishment. This point, respecting the military and civil command in North America, has been decided in the Court of Common Pleas here. I will send you, from the hand of one of the first lawyers in this kingdom, *the state of that process*, and will point out what it will be necessary for you to do, to form the proper ground for the course which your Assembly should take to obviate the establishment of a military power, paramount to the civil supreme magistrate; and the same course, I doubt not, will be unanimously taken by the whole of the provinces and colonies. Suspend every thing, therefore, at present. By some of the next ships you shall hear further. I will almost venture to promise, that I will put an end to your fears about the military.

I have not time to write you any thing about the part I took in the motion for a total repeal of all the duties, — you will, I dare say, hear that from others.

Mr. Bollan, *very* imprudently, in the opinion of many of your friends, interposed by petitioning, at a time when the prudence of every colony, and every agent, avoided the making the necessity, or propriety, of a repeal, an American measure — at a time when the true line of conduct was, that

it should derive from the application of the British merchant.

Pray make my best compliments to Mr. Bowdoin, — tell him I received his letter of Dec. 5, '69, and will answer it, as soon as the hurry of our present engagements are over. I have received the letter of the committee of merchants, and the books, and beg you to thank them for me. I will write them an answer by the next ships. Remember me to &s —¹ I wish to be remembered by all my friends of the Province. I am your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

To the Rev'd Dr. Cooper, Boston.

LETTER XV.

LONDON, Albemarle street, March 31, '70.

DEAR SIR:— I don't find that in any of your letters of Dec., or of Jan. 1, or 30, you mention the receipt of mine of Oct. 6th, wherein I suggested the matter of the military peace establishment existing paramount to the civil supreme magistrate, who *is*, and ought to be, according to our constitution, military Commander-in-Chief,

¹ Sic in orig.

within the precincts of his jurisdiction. There are many reasons why I should be sorry, that that, and one former letter on the same subject, should have miscarried;—not that I care any thing as to *the fate* of the letter, for it contained nothing which I shall not take occasion to avow, in such manner as shall turn out to the confusion of those who shall dare to avow the support of the military establishment *as it now stands*. But I am sorry, lest the subject-matter suggested, and the manner of taking it up, should not have reached you.

Through the delay of lawyers, I am not able to send you the opinions which I promised to send you. Through the backwardness of friends, and the illness of others, who would fairly stand forth, I have not yet been able to bring forward, in parliament, this matter. You cannot conceive — I cannot, in a letter, explain — and if I could, it is impossible you could believe, the reasons of the obstructions and difficulties one meets with, in moving any thing respecting America. Dr. ———¹ goes this summer to Philadelphia. I refer to him, on all points not explanatory by letter. I hope that the advice I gave, relative to the suspending all measures touching the above mentioned military business (in a letter forwarded by Mr. Haley) arrived time enough, and hath been

¹ Sic in orig. — *quære* — Franklin ?

taken. We shall have a recess at Easter, when I will write fully to you.

A bill for the reforming the shameful, profligate mode and manner we had got into, of deciding on contested elections in the House, — for taking the trying and deciding out of the House at large, and giving it to a select Committee (to be drawn by ballot upon each case) formed on the model of a jury, and under all the same sanctions, has passed our House, making its way by the irresistible force of right, truth, and necessity, against the Ministry, who fruitlessly opposed it. I am not a little proud of the share I had in it, and of the honour I had in being one of the persons to bring it in. This event has shewn that all spirit of honour is not yet quite dead and corrupt amongst us. This measure will restore us to our honour, — will, I hope, regain to us the esteem of the people, and lead to every the most salutary purpose.

In all steps your friends take, let *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re* — be the motto, and the spirit of conduct, never to be deviated from for a moment — for one instant.

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

T. P.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

LETTER XVI.

LONDON, Albemarle street, April 11, '70.

DEAR SIR:— Having fully explained myself on many points to Mr. Elliot, whom you were so good as to recommend to me, and for which I am much obliged to you, I shall refer myself to him on those matters, as better explained by word than writing.

Last Friday, Mr. Trecothick, upon the commitment of the American duty-bill, gave notice, that he would, as yesterday, make a motion for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the duty laid by the 7th of Geo. III., on teas,— and yesterday, brought on his motion. It being generally understood, that this matter had been fully argued, and had received its negative, and that it could not be brought on again the same session, and that the so bringing it on was not quite according to the rules observed even between party and party, [the House] was very ill attended. There were not fifty members in the House when the debate began, and but 132 at the decision. When the motion was made by Mr. Trecothick, it was opposed by calling for the order of the day, and after a few speeches to the point of order, the matter was decided against the question, by 80 to 52.

There is gone through our House, and will, I believe, go through the House of Lords, a bill "to regulate the tryals of controverted elections, etc."¹ I have sent a blank copy to Mr. Bowdoin, with some suggestions of an use which may be very properly made of it, by applying the principle, and some part of the mode, of the regulation, to those transactions in your General Court, which take up the consideration and decision of matters of property. I am not a little proud of the share I had in this matter.

The day which I had fixed upon for my motion, for taking "the state of his Majesty's government in North America" into consideration, proves to be the day fixed for a grand masquerade, so that it would have been impossible to have got an attendance. I have been therefore forced to put it off to May the 2nd. Upon the subject of this motion, I shall write you a letter by itself. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

P. S.— This motion of Mr. Trecothick quite put off the possibility of the motion which I had in contemplation to make, for rendering the duty on tea temporary — to last as long as the agree-

¹ The *Grenville Act*, 10 Geo. III. c. 16. — F. G.

ment between the East India Company and Treasury lasts, and then to cease and determine.

LETTER XVII.

DEAR SIR:— There is not a clearer proposition in the world than the following, — nor any precedent which can arise in the administration of the British constitution, as that which deviates from the truth and right of it,¹ viz. — The supreme military command is *inseparably and essentially annexed* to the King, his heirs and successors, *Kings and Queens of Great Britain*. This supreme military command never has been, and never can be separated from this supreme civil office of *King*, within the realm.

Whenever this office has been delegated, as to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to the King's *locum tenentes* in America, the supreme military command *has always* been inseparably annexed to it. It can never be otherwise. The manner in which all the constitutions upon the continent

¹ The meaning of this passage is far from being clear. May it not be better expressed thus: “ — nor can any precedent arise, in the [course of the] administration of the British constitution, from that which deviates from the truth and right of the proposition.” — F. G.

in Europe have lost their liberty, has been, in suffering the authority of the supreme military power, although united in the same person, to run, in the actual exercise of it, in two distinct and incommunicable lines, by which *power and command* have superseded civil authority, and become not only independent of, but *paramount* to the civil constitution.

It is a mistake to imagine that the civil constitutions of those countries which have lost their liberties are changed; — the constitutions, in theory and right, remain as free as ever, and some of them more so than even our British constitution. But the military being the only *power*, and separated from, and incommunicable with the civil *authority*, the civil constitution is under an absolute paralysis. In this light of danger, I view the precedent which may arise from the present peace establishment of the military command in America, separated from — incommunicable with — and paramount to the supreme civil magistrate, the King's *locum tenens* in each province.

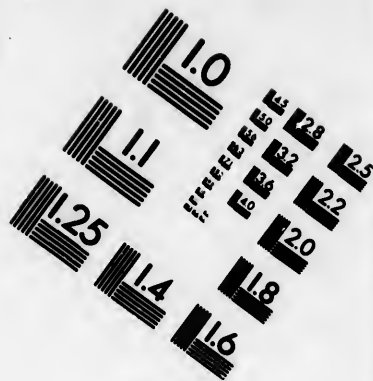
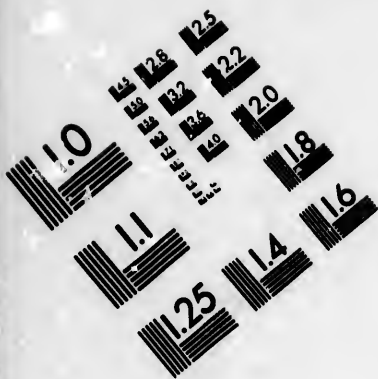
It is therefore *to obviate this danger* that a motion will be made, to have this matter particularly considered, in the consideration of *the state of the King's government in America*, which comes on, on the 2d of May.

A matter relative to this point has come before the Court of King's Bench here.

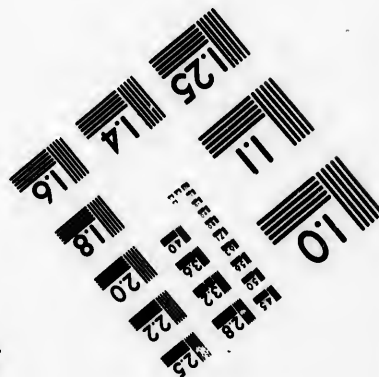
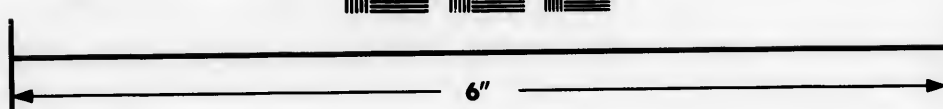
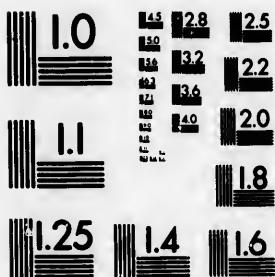
A dispute arising in West Florida between Governor Johnstone and Lieutenant-colonel Walsh, commandant of the troops there, as to the command of the *garrison* and the troops, it went to those lengths, that Lt. Col. Walsh finally refusing to, and withholding from Governor Johnstone, the command which he thought his commission gave him, and which no military commission *had*, or could take from him, until the commission was superseded, he [Gov. J.] arrested Lt. Col. Walsh. Lt. Col. Walsh brought his action in the King's Bench against Governor Johnstone, for false imprisonment, — but upon the powers which Governor Johnstone's commission gave him, and those which Lt. Col. Walsh claimed by delegation, under General Gage's commission, being explained at the opening, Lt. Col. Walsh's council¹ (from a suggestion coming with *some authority*) suffered a non-suit, as not having legal cause of action. This matter, being *so* decided, *even by the non-suit*, would it not be the most unexceptionable ground of proceeding, the least liable to inconvenience or danger of any kind, the most respectful to the King's

¹ *Council for Counsel*. This affords another slight indication of the Governor's identity with Junius. In the Preface twice, and in each of the letters lxiii. and lxviii., once, of his original edition, (v. 1, pp. xix. and xxii., and v. 2, pp. 292 and 335.) Junius wrote *council* for *counsel*. The latter spelling was substituted in G. Woodfall's edition of 1814 (vol. i. 372 and 376, and vol. ii. 389 and 429). — F. G.





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commission, the most safe to the military officers and commanders, the least liable to create fresh matter of dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, if a case was made (arising out of some actually existing transaction), as is done in many cases, to try a right, and to have this matter fairly and dispassionately discussed, by a special jury in your Courts of law,—and then, upon the ground of such decision, wherever the right shall be found to be, to apply, by the great and General Court, or by the two Houses, to the King, in a dutiful and respectful address, to have this matter of right considered?—

In forming such case, these matters must be attended to;—that it comes up to the point, that the military command in dispute exists where the King has by charter, and his commission, delegated the royal powers of supreme civil magistrate,—that therefore, the proving that the command of the military derives *from the King*, is not to the point in question, unless it derives from the King, *through these delegated powers*.

Care also must be had, that the case be not stated on any act, which the military commander is authorised to do, or to order to be done, in consequence of the mutiny bill; but the distinction must at the same time be observed, that many acts and commands are authorised by that law to derive from the King within the realm, which must, *for the same reason*, derive from the

civil Governor without the realm (and not from the King), as supreme civil magistrate within such respective jurisdiction.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend,
and faithful servant,

LETTER XVIII.

LONDON, Albemarle street, May 11, 1770.

DEAR SIR:— I received and am much obliged to you for your letter of the 26th and 27th of March.

My letters to the Committees of the town of Boston give the best account, I can ascertain, of the effects which the notice of the late catastrophe at Boston had, and have here. I have been so explicit and open, that I have not left myself any thing to add in this private and confidential letter to my private friend.

I own I do feel no little satisfaction in the success of the motion I made; for although it did not pass, yet it carried its effect, and went off upon no other ground—and upon that ground only—that the Crown had (upon doubts arising in point of law, etc., etc.) given directions for every thing to be done that this address could

desire. The Lord Mayor seconded the motion, and spoke as his free and independent spirit always leads him to do, for the freedom of the subject, and the political liberty of the state. He showed, that the motion was grounded in fact and in law, and desired nothing that could be refused. He therefore called upon ministry, either to make some one objection to it, or to let it go.¹

Colonel Barré, upon the ministry declaring that the thing desired by the address was already ordered to be done, said — he was glad to hear it, but added, that as ministers had let this matter sleep so many years, amidst so much danger, and had never thought of it, nor would ever have taken it up, if they had not been driven to it within this month, by the notice which the gentleman (who now made the motion) had given, of his intending to make it, six weeks ago, the public, the colonies, nay — ministers themselves (whatever they might be willing to think of it), were much obliged to this gentleman, and to him

¹ The Lord Mayor here mentioned was Mr. Beckford, whose celebrated reply to the King is perpetuated, not only in history, but by being engraved on the monument erected to his memory, by the city of London, in Guildhall. This letter is dated only twelve days before that reply was given. — The Governor's mode of expression — "*some one objection,*" finds parallels in Junius's Dedication — "*no one man in office,*" — "*answers no one purpose of real power,*" — and Letter I., "*nor any one important measure,*" — etc. — F. G.

alone, for stirring and bringing forward, and now discussing this point.

Sir George Saville declared, in still stronger terms, the same thing, — saying — that as there was no possibility for ministry to make any objection, either to the matter — the manner — or the purport of the motion, so he was glad to find them admitting the matter, and declaring that orders were given to the same purport.

General Conway said, that as we were all agreed as to the ground and purport of the motion, and as ministry had so solemnly declared, that orders were given to have the point of law considered — the matter revised on that basis, and that every thing was, by that, intended to be done which the address desired, the carrying up the address would, under such circumstances, become disrespectful to the King, — and that he was on that account, and that only, against the motion.

The matter came thus to a short issue. Mr. Serjeant Glynn, although ill in a fit of the gout, came down to support the cause. Mr. Dunning, by some mistake, being told that I was not to move it that day, was not there, but meant to have been there, and has since lamented to me that he was not.

Mr. Cornwall was of opinion with me; — and Mr. Dowdeswell, had not my Lord Mayor have done it, would have seconded the motion.

I had many difficulties at first, to get even so

far as to bring on my motion ; but amidst all its difficulties, it has had the best issue of any thing which has been moved this session, having carried its point, although not carried itself. Enclosed are some of the arguments I used, — but I have not time [to give] either a particular, or a full account of what I said. I went into a large discussion of the causes of the discontents — pointed out the doubts conceived, and the apprehensions felt, — as the people of the Massachusetts were the people whose case was more particularly in question, I went into a long eulogium of their affection to the mother-country — their loyalty to the King — their zeal for the service, — I mentioned Quebec, 1711 — N. Scotia for a series of years — Louisbourg, 1747 — Beausejour — the united expedition to Crown-Point — their setting the example in raising men at the requisition of the Crown, instead of 2300 as a quota of 7,000, 7,000 men for their quota — the 300 men sent to the fleet — the King George — the Snow sloop — their raising 80,000 per ann. during the war — and a design which I had concerted, and [which] would have been gone into, by the zeal of the people, and their love for their mother-country, that if the French had actually landed men in England, the New-Englanders would have come to their [the mother-country's] assistance, — but said — how are matters now changed, when we

here are sending an army to ensure the affection and obedience of these very people!

The withdrawing of the troops, and the declaration of the ministry, supersede all necessity and occasion for the advice which I forwarded to you by Mr. Elliot.

I find that my speech was taken down in shorthand, and that a copy is got abroad, though I cannot learn where:—'tis most likely you'll see or hear of it, so I shall not now enclose the little imperfect abstract, which by the bye, I have not time to copy. I never heard—till yesterday on meeting Mr. Bollan by accident—that Captain Gardner was to leave town today; and this day Mr. Bollan sends me word, that Captain Gardner will call on me this evening, between six and seven. You may guess then—as well as by my writing—of the hurry in which I am reduced to write.

Make my respects to Mr. Bowdoin, and my excuse, that I am not able to answer his private letter.

You'll excuse me also to your Brother, to whom I desire my respects. Remember me to all friends. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

I sent to Mr. Bollan a copy of the address which I proposed. I suppose he will transmit it.

LETTER XIX.

Duplicate.

LONDON, July 11, '70.

DEAR SIR:— There have now arrived three ships — the Susannah Johnson, the Lydia Scott, and the Thomas Davis,¹ by none of which have I received one letter from Boston. I mention this only, that if you, or any of my friends, have written any, you and they may be informed, that such have been stopped. I here am marked by Government as the American partizan in general; — and on this occasion particularly, Government has had information given to them, that the renewal of the Associations for non-importation is entirely owing to the letters that Dr. Franklin and I have written, — that I, particularly, wrote this special advice, that the sending back a few of the goods imported contrary to the Associations, would have more effect in Great Britain, than a hundred resolutions not to import, however firmly adhered to, — and that, in consequence of this advice, those goods which have come back were returned. Mr. Haley has had letters from Boston, saying expressly, that it is

¹ July 30. I may now add — the Hannah, Capt. Jervis. — (Gov. P.)

owing to letters in which I say, that if the Americans had kept firm and unanimous not to import, the whole of the revenue law would have been repealed. This has been written by some false brethren, who wanted an excuse for sending back the goods which they had ordered, contrary to their own agreement. In like manner, you and Mr. Bowdoin are represented here, as the principal springs, managers, and conductors, on your side the water, of the opposers. There are numbers of bad people here, running about with such reports and representations. You are charged, even in our newspapers, with being the author of the Abingdon resolves. I did not think the matter deserved any strict inquiry who was the author, so can only guess. Friend Cummings told me, that one Sindeman, living in New England, was the writer of some of the papers published under the signature of *Veritas*. I have heard Mein also mentioned, but there are others also. Whoever the writer is, he affects to be well informed of affairs at Boston, in order to give authority to abuse. He signs himself *Veritas*, by the same analogy, I suppose, as the grammarians say *lucus* is so called *a non lucendo*. It has also been suggested, or rather whispered, that Mr. Bowdoin had a hand in drawing the Boston instructions. In like manner as some of the best friends of the public on your side the water—such as most wish, and could

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best lead matters to a reconciliation, was there a temper on this side disposed to meet it— are driven from the confidence, opinion, and communication which Government ought to have with them:— so some of your truest and most disinterested friends, such as in these affairs form no connections of party but with yourselves, and that on the ground of the general civil liberty of mankind to be maintained in your case, are misrepresented and obstructed in their full communication and connexion with the friends of liberty on your side. It is the interest of agents, and runners of parties, that such should be removed from your confidence. Interested dealers also, whose only connexion with your interest is the profit they can derive from it, cannot wish you to stand upon your own interest otherwise than as subservient to theirs. But my opinion is, that your interest will stand firmest when set on its own basis, and that you will receive the truest advice, and most genuine assistance, from such as have no connexion with either parties or dealers.

There is one caution more, which I cannot but think right to suggest, that you be particularly cautious to distinguish those motions and reasonings *which point only to an attack upon ministry, on their conduct* in American affairs, from those which take up propositions and truths to bring them forward, so as to form a safe, firm, and sure foundation whereon the political rights and lib-

erty of the American constitutions may be established. Seeing the importance — nay, the necessity of this advice, and fearing that it is not rightly understood, I could wish to enlarge more upon it; but if I am once misunderstood, the more I say, the further I shall fall back in a leecurrent. I am, dear Sir,

Most affectionately your friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

P. S. — You will have read in the newspapers, and perhaps have had it written to Boston, that there were thoughts of my being appointed Governor. In the first place, I would not accept any post whatever in America under the present system of Government:—in the next place, Ministry are too well informed of my sentiments, and too angry with me, ever to make me any offer or proposal.

LETTER XX.

LONDON, July 14, '70.

DEAR SIR:—I have written a general public letter to the gentlemen, Committees of the town of Boston, which I have sent to my good and

worthy friend, Mr. Bowdoin, desiring him to communicate it. I had originally drawn it up in a form much more explicit and pointed, marking in the way the springs and motives, as well as the outward and visible effects of the scheme of our present ministers; but upon consulting with an intimate friend, a great lawyer, he advised me to more caution, as, he said, he knew I was marked, and that if ministry meant to lye¹ upon the watch, to charge the Bostonians with sedition, etc., etc., they might, by an old maxim of law, construe my letter, although it did not contain one syllable that was actionable, into conspiracy with *such sedition*, etc., and so make me an imaginary confederate in imaginary crimes. — And although no process in the law-courts could establish any such crimes, yet violent resolutions of some violent party, in some other house or court, might be equally ruinous. The difficulties do really cut off from that fair communication and information of the real state of things, by which many mischiefs might be warded off, and much good be brought to gather toward the reconciliation of contending parties. These difficulties had almost determined me to make a trip this summer to America, and would have wholly so fixed it, had not family domestic connexions

¹ In the original edition of Junius's *Letters*, (v. 1. p. 65, and p. 171, in note,) the noun *lie* is spelled *lye*. — F. G.

of happiness, which must have been sacrificed to pain, and to perhaps worse consequences, interposed. However, if these can be settled on any plan on which I can be justified to my own heart, I will make that trip next summer. If I were single, there is nothing which I would not sacrifice, to obviate and prevent mischiefs which I think will certainly fall upon both countries, but perhaps first on America. They will spring from a spirit ignorant of the principles of colonies, and colony administration; from a violent temper that calls all opposition to such spirit Sedition, at least, if not Rebellion; and charges all interposition as conspiracy and confederacy with such prejudged sedition. Be that as it may, I shall, in this private letter to my friend, be as explicit as the nature of things will permit:— And first, I do affirm, that if the plan of ministry is, that the governors, and the civil government of the colonies, shall no longer be, as they have always hitherto been, dependent on the People for their support, in like manner as the King and his government are dependent on the people for their support,— and if an army (no longer an annual one in America) is to be kept standing, and *under discipline beyond the year*, without communication with the will of the community wherein it is posted, and not commanded by the supreme civil magistrate of the jurisdiction of that community, as it hath always hitherto been,— and if the forts,

castles, and places of strength are to be taken out of the hands of the Governor, the King's legal military Commander-in-chief, within each respective jurisdiction, — if citadels and garrisons, under this mode of establishment, are to be fixed within these jurisdictions, and then, because you would not acquiesce (although you have obeyed the laws, and paid the taxes) in a system of taxation which is imposed by power, instead of grants of and by good will, and do object to the establishment of a military force, which you think to be — and which is contrary to law, while it is not commanded by the civil [power], — I say, if then, upon these grounds, and for these reasons, attended by such circumstances, your charters of government, the jurisdictions of your civil community, are to be attacked, and either dissolved or altered at pleasure, as any administration of the government of the mother-country shall from time to time think expedient, and shall be advised by the Crown lawyers belonging to such ministry, your rights and privileges are no longer what you always understood and conceived them to be, and what every good whig will still think them to be.

The first and essential principle of political liberty (without which it is not), is — “that civil government is the action of the whole body operating on itself:” — this is what I call interior or internal government: — this is what in the in-

dividual forms philosophic liberty, — what in civil society forms political liberty.

As it may be thus said of an individual, either a man, or a community governing itself, so may one man in his individual capacity, govern another in his individual capacity, leaving to the governed all and every right, privilege, and liberty which constitutes a free agent; — so, and in like manner, may one supreme comprehending community govern another subordinate comprehended community, by a sovereign jurisdiction, which yet leaves the inferior jurisdiction all and every right, privilege, and liberty which constitutes the free agency of a political state. So long as the governed is permitted to act by his own powers of action, and by a communication and intercourse of will, notwithstanding that such subordination and obedience are as of the essence, so the duty, of the relation in which the inferior stands, yet the subject individual remains free — yet the subordinate community retains its political freedom. The labourer — the journeyman — the husbandman is thus subordinate — thus obedient to his employer, but is not thereby a slave. The colony likewise is thus subordinate to the mother-country, but ceases not, by that subordination, to have “freedom of will, and liberty of action.” It acts by those powers which constitute a free agent; and as a free agent its will is actuated upon from the duty of the rela-

tion in which it stands to the mother-country :— But if the governing individual assumes a power over the action and will of the governed individual, exterior to those powers which constitute his free agency, — if he operates upon him by mere force, — if he admits no communication of will, — if he considers the governed, and all his actions, and all the effect of his actions, that is to say, all his property created by his labour, so much the property of the governing that the other can have no right to act, or to enjoy the fruit of his own action, that subordinate individual is in an absolute state of slavery :— His will, His power of acting, His property, is not his own ; all right, all power over these, is exterior to his being. I therefore call this government *external or exterior, by force.*

There is also an exterior government of right, as thus :— Whilst any individual is not in a state of reason, — * “ is in a state wherein he has no understanding of his own to direct his will, he is not to have any will of his own to follow : He that understands for him must will for him too ; he must prescribe to his will, and direct his actions.”¹ This is the government of a father over

* Mr. Locke.

¹ Junius, in his original edition, as well as Gov. P., invariably prefixed the inverted commas to every line of a quotation. This peculiarity was not observed, until the preceding pages had been corrected in the press, which will account for our having over-

his son during his minority, of a guardian over an idiot, or a lunatic. This is the government of a mother-country over a colony, before it is formed into a state of civil community and government, that is, before it is in a state to have an understanding and will of its own. The mother-country wills for it, prescribes and regulates its actions, and disposes of its property. This also is exterior government. But, as in the case of a child the moment he comes to a state of maturity, the moment that the idiot¹ or the lunatic recovers his understanding, the exterior government of the parent and guardian ceases; so of a colony, — if by positive grant or charter, or by implied right, from the nature of the political liberty of the state from whence it derived, from the nature of the constituents of the community itself, it is in a situation to have “freedom of will, and liberty of action,” the moment that it is from positive grant, or by right of derivation, or the absolute right of its own nature, a free agent, from that moment exterior government, as founded in right, ceases; the mother-country, still retaining its sovereignty, has the power of government over

looked the omission of the full number of inverted commas from the quotation on p. 239. — F. G.

¹ This is the second time in this paragraph, that the Governor spells this word idiot. The same spelling will be found twice in vol. 2, of Junius's original edition, pp. 87 and 229. In the latter instance only, it is corrected in G. Woodfall's edition of 1814, to idiot. — F. G.

the colony,—the colony *of right*, and *by duty* subject and subordinate to the government of the mother-country. But the government must be interior; and therefore, although the government of the mother-country constitutes the executive power of the colony by its commissions, and retains a restraining and negating power over its will, yet it leaves it to form its own will, and to act by all those powers which constitute it a free agent. If the mother-country were to say, that the colonies have no right to have a will, as was the case before they were in a state of civil government—before they were erected into provinces, and that therefore they should not have a representative assembly, but should be governed by the King in Council, or by the Governor and a Council appointed by the Crown;—or if (the establishment of a representative assembly remaining) that assembly should from time to time be suspended;—if the mother-country restraining tryals per pais should say, that, in particular enumerated cases, we will take the accused and try them within the realm, or by judges of an exterior jurisdiction, without the interposition of juries, and the jurisdiction of the country;—if the office of Governor were so restrained by subsequent instructions, that he was no longer that efficient magistrate which of right, from the nature of the government, and of his office, he ought to be, and which the people, so framed into a

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government, have a right to require him to be ; — if the community were acted upon by a force *ab extra*, which was not the force of the community, which was not commanded by the supreme civil magistrate of the jurisdiction ; and if such an exterior force, under such a predicament, were attempted to be established within the limits of the jurisdiction of such a free agent, the government would be exterior, and if not of right, then of force ; and so being arbitrary and despotic, the colony would be put exactly in the case of the slave above described.

In like manner even within the realm, all government can be no longer free than while the will of the government is the collective will of the whole community, and the power of the government only the united force of the community : so if any other will than the laws, which are this collective will, or any force, deriving from any other source than that of the supreme civil magistrate, attempts to govern, that is exterior government.

I shall this summer write a treatise on this proposition, which distinguishes interior from exterior government, and points out all the cases as they derive from this distinction, which I hope may have a tendency to open the eyes of those who think (however zealous they may imagine themselves to be for political liberty within the realm), that the constitution does not require

that interior government be applied to any community *in partibus exteris*, without the realm. Such proposition, if I shall be able to explain it with the conviction ~~that~~ I feel, if it does not convert your enemies may, I hope, put the reason and conduct of your friends on some fixed basis. I am sure that if the Americans felt the ground, and saw the extent of it, their reason and conduct would be more fixed, uniform, and united, in pursuit of that political liberty, which it is of the essence of the constitution of the mother-country to establish amongst them.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

LETTER XXI.

LONDON, July 21, '70.

DEAR SIR;— As I know it will be a pleasure done to yourself, and may be of great advantage to my friends at Boston, and in the Province, to bring Commodore Gambier and yourself acquainted, I beg to introduce him as my friend to your particular acquaintance. I am sure you cannot know one another without creating a

friendship, and to such I recommend you. The Commodore will be so good to deliver you my letters. I beg to make him well with my friends;¹ — he wishes it. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

LETTER XXII.

Albemarle street, LONDON, June 7, 1771.

DEAR SIR:— I was favored with your several letters, and delayed answering them, as the points on which they chiefly turned were kept in suspense by the state of business, both on your side the water, and also here — from the nature of every matter which becomes the subject of parliamentary discussion, whilst Parliament is sitting. The session is now over, and not one single point, either by ministry, or by those who oppose it, has been brought forward relative to the constitution of the Provinces, or to the rights

¹ “ — to make him well with my friends:” A parallel for this somewhat peculiar mode of expression, will be found in the “*Letter to a Brigadier General, etc.*,” p. 19: — “Did Lord George imagine, that the reputation of *being well with* the great minister, would bear him . . . to the highest pinnacle of military glory?” — F. G.

of the Americans. There is a tide in the affairs of men; and when that tide is once turned, things flow down with something like a fatality that no efforts of spirit or prudence can resist. Things then may be said to have taken their course; and those who wish best to mankind, can only lye by for such events as may present future occasions for serving them. I shall always consider myself as being in this situation, both with regard to the general liberties of mankind, as well as the particular interest of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, with whose affairs my administration naturally connected me.

In this light, even from general motives, I should wish the uninterrupted continuance of our mutual correspondence; but the affection which my friendship towards you makes me feel, will be ever a most irresistible motive for wishing the continuance of every communication that may contribute to increase it: and therefore, I do hope that we may neither of us lose any opportunity of improving that friendly intercourse which has subsisted between us, from my first knowledge of you:— You may depend upon every attention on my part to your friends, and to your recommendation of them.

As by the last convention between England and Spain, an end is put for the present to the appearance of war between the two nations, and as nothing seems immediately to threaten a change

in the course of those affairs, there can be nothing new in them to impart to you. It is also impossible to form any opinion, what will be the event of the present troubles between Russia and Turkey, which still continue a mixture of fighting and negociation. The fighting part will continue, without the least decisive event arising from it, until it shall give some occasion for concluding the negociation, which, in my opinion, would have been concluded long ago, was there not a jealousy between the different Courts of Europe, which should have the management of the mediation and arbitration.

If any alteration in the present course of affairs should happen; or any new schemes or systems should arise, which may any way affect the public interests of the province, or of our friends there, I shall be always watchful to every motion, and communicate every sentiment that such impresses upon me; although there seems just now, no great reason to expect any change *in things*, as those who have the forming and direction of *persons* seem thoroughly founded and established in their power.

I beg my sincere regards and respects to all our friends, and that you will be so good as to remember me to them, as I hope I am remembered by them. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

There will be peace between Russia and Turkey — this you may depend on.

To the Rev'd S. Cooper, D. D., *Boston.*

[In the Duplicate, which immediately follows the above letter, the information contained in the postscript, is thus thrown into a paragraph before the signature:]

Since the transcribing of the above, I am possessed of a fact which enables me to tell you, with certainty, that there will be peace betwixt Russia and the Turks.

June 7, '71, LONDON, Albemarle street.

LETTER XXIII.

RICHMOND, July 26, '71.

DEAR SIR:— I hope you received safe the letters, which I had the pleasure of writing to you soon after the recess of Parliament, as also the Duplicates.

Since that, I have not been favored with a line from you, which is a matter of uneasy disappointment to me. I not only miss the happiness I enjoyed in the intercourse and communication of your friendship, but I remain wholly unin-

formed of the state of things in a country whose welfare I shall ever invariably remain anxious for, and watch over, as far as power enables me to serve it. Pray let me hear from you.

Reports from one quarter say, that the Assembly, as to men, are the same individuals, — yet the spirit is of a different essence. Government is told, that all is quiet, humble and submissive; and that the people would be glad to receive as a favor, and ask, and hold on that tenure, matters which they have hitherto claimed as rights. Since Government hath given [up] the ascendancy of civil authority, and leant on military power, I think the case equally dangerous to both the governing as well as governed. One has a precarious [power?] that in its nature can be but temporary, the other is exposed to all the consequences of anarchy. *Sat sapienti dictum*, — otherwise, I could expatiate for many and many a melancholy page on this subject. Until some new event shall give a new spirit of government to both parties, and that spirit shall actuate an honest people, all is in hazard, I had almost said — at random.

Tempted with the glare of false characters, too many on your side the water attached themselves to men, and the seduction of party, forgetting all the while things — things of the last importance. Where will they now look for men? the enchantment is broken — the mask is off; — they will

view them in the true characters which they mutually give of each other, and—it is a sad view to see *things as they are*.

I do not despair of once more seeing my real friends in America ;—it is almost a fixed purport in my mind, to make the tour of America once more, to compare on the spot the stage and progress of the country :—but that must be some years hence —if ever. Give my love and respects to all my friends in your circle, and accept yourself the tender of my best affections.

I am, your friend,

Most sincerely,

T. POWNALL.

To the Rev'd Dr. Cooper,

at Boston, N. America.

LETTER XXIV.

RICHMOND, Sept. 3, '71.

DEAR SIR :—It is long — at least I think it so — since I have had the pleasure of a line from you. I hope you have received my several letters ;—by not hearing from you I fear it.

In my last I acquainted you that we are likely to have, before this time, a general peace in Europe. Russia and the Turks might easily have

made up their quarrel, for all that Russia desires, is to bind the Turks to an observance of the laws of nations, as settled amongst the European powers. And even necessity itself must adduce the Turks to this system, as they are now become part of the great *Republic of European States*. But Poland cannot govern itself, and all the neighbouring [powers] will quarrel who shall govern it. The Turks think that the Russians meddle too much, and thereby grow too powerful. Russia does not seem to give any satisfaction on that head. This makes Austria think it necessary to interfere; and if that Court does, Prussia will not remain neutral, but will throw its weight into the opposite scale. France is engaged to assist Austria to a stipulated degree, — and who can say where all these movements can train?

I am determined to be silent upon, although not forgetting or negligent of American affairs. I am, at my leisure, putting together some ideas on the right of mankind to colonize, and the rights of colonies so emigrant, when settled as distinct, and compleat¹ communities; but whether I shall ever finish it, or whether, when finished, I shall ever publish it, is very distant from my present determination. If I do, I shall close it with

¹ *Compleat*: — Junius always so spelled the word, in his original edition. See v. 1, pp. 117, 141, 159, 204, 281, 241. — In G. Woodfall's edition, it is corrected to — *complete*. — F. G.

advice to colonies that shall find themselves on the point the most dangerous to them.

Dr. Franklin is gone on a tour to Ireland. I have been here all summer — am going into Lincolnshire, my usual tour, for the next month, and when I return, shall, I fancy, soon after go to winter residence in town. Parliament does not meet, unless any thing extraordinary happens, until after Christmas.

I beg my real and most sincere regards to Mr. Bowdoin, — pray tell him I will hope to hear from him, as I most certainly do hope to hear from you. Remember me most kindly to all my friends, and believe me to be — as I am —

Your's, most affectionately,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper,

Boston, New-England.

LETTER XXV.

LONDON, April 5, '72.

DEAR SIR: — I will add — dear friend — for I must thank you as such for your kind and affectionate letters. I must make my acknowledgments for the kind and more than friendly man-

ner in which you have interested yourself for my honor, and in which you have laboured, that justice at least might be done to my services, while I was sincerely, and to my own hurt, labouring to serve the province and the people. My humanity was for a moment — my honour could not be — hurt, — my utility was rendered unuseful, and was frustrated: — in that I felt not for myself, — I was sorry for the cause, and the interest of the Province, and its rights, which suffered by it. But that is now passed. Let us view the present state of things, for I will still persevere wherever I can; and I will try to serve the Province, although my services may not be acceptable.¹

In order to keep up the protest against the military establishment, which hath superseded the civil, I moved the question again this year. The news papers got part of my speech, although but a miserable extract of the part which they did get, and not one half of the real argument, and not one sentence of the application of the doctrine. The people may acquiesce, but I, as a friend, never will. The matter, under the state of acquiescence with which the people sit down, is every day more and more striking root, as a

¹ "In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be, etc. . . . I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up." — *Junius's last letter to Woodfall*, 19 Jan., 1773.

See also, the commencement of letter LIX. — F. G.

rooted precedent, which will grow up, and bear bitter fruit.

The old proverb says, *one may see light through a small crevice*; — and one may discern more strongly than by the most outrageous clamouring, the spirit of the people in the *start* which they took about the proclamation. Yet it is a spirit that is hide-bound.

I have enclosed a letter for your perusal. I may think that it may possibly serve some views which I have entertained; and yet you, who see and know, upon the spot, what one's heart could not conceive, may know that it can do no service on one hand, but may expose me to the malice and ridicule of bad men on the other. Run no risks for me, or for my honour, about it, — rather burn it a thousand times over (if that can be), rather than run any risque, by delivering it, where the task for ever is — out of good, still to find means of evil.

April 12. — If there be a temper and culture of mind to receive the good seed, get your Brother to deliver it, — if there be not, or even a doubt whether there be or not — burn it.

I am now extremely busy in preparing to bring forward a new system of law for the corn-trade. Our circumstances in that article are changed; our system therefore must follow, and adapt itself to those new circumstances. It is a matter

of risque,¹ and great hazard, to meddle with the operations of the supply of a country, and the commerce of the supply and provisions. It is in any way of almost infinite import, and may draw danger in its consequences. To-morrow I make my motion. I do not know any which I ever engaged in, that hung with so much dread upon my mind. If my ideas are wrong or dangerous, I hope the House will reject them. Adieu. Let me always hear from you.

I am, in every sense of love and esteem, most affectionately,

Your friend,

T. POWNALL.

To the Rev'd Dr. Cooper,
Boston.

LETTER XXVI.

LONDON, Albemarle street, April 10, '72.

SIR:— From various hands, and through various channels, I have heard, that you had conceived of me, and, in consequence of your conceptions, did represent me, in your public opinions, at least as a doubtful friend of the province. Under what spirit such conceptions could be con-

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 168.

veyed to, and could enter into your mind, I am unable even to guess. Judge not of the tree by the colouring of the blossoms; wait the bearing time, and judge by the fruits:—if you had any doubts then, I ask of the candour of your mind, and of the honest feelings of your heart, what you think now.

However, whatever doubts malicious representations might have raised in your mind, could any temper of mind less than that sin against the holy spirit of truth, that temper which prevents the mind from giving its assent to its own conviction—have represented me as an enemy to the Province, at the very moment, and in the very action, when I was invariably and unremittedly labouring to defend and serve its interest?

I would not write this while the animosity of parties kept the temper heated, and the passions in agitation; I would not write this while I could suspect even myself that I might retain the least spirit of resentment. But now, as all is over and past some years ago:—wishing to stand in the eye of the Province as I know I deserve to stand, fair and well,—I wish you, in the spirit of candour, and with your own genuine honour, to review the whole of my conduct, from the first planting of me amongst you, to the fruits I have borne. I never belong to any party—I never wished to serve any party: in that view, therefore, I neither claim, nor can have any merit.

Attached solely to the true interests of the province, I never sought to flatter—nor ever did flatter—its passions. Whether rightly understood, or misunderstood, my affections will continue the same: and I shall always endeavour to serve the Province, and its inhabitants, in conjunction with those who do serve it. I wish, with all my heart, you may find yourself convinced, that this is true. You will find me, at the same time, to be truly, Sir,

Your friend,

T. POWNALL.

To Saml. Adams, Esq.,

Boston.

LETTER XXVII.

LONDON, April 2, '74.

DEAR SIR:—I have not of late found either things or myself in such a situation that I could write. I never will write an ostensible letter, and withhold my real opinion. I have therefore been forced to be silent, as to my correspondence for some time. Yet, do not think that my friendship or old affections have been weaned from the Province. Although I cannot write all that I wish to say, yet I cannot wholly refrain:—but

all that I can at present go to, is to beg, for God's sake, that the good and prudent of the Province will try their best authority,—that the good sense—the old good temper, and good principles of the Province, may prevail over the passions and party of the violent and heedless, who have well nigh ruined the town of Boston, and will ruin the Province. I know, 'though the stroke given is heavy and severe, and 'though the arm of Government, raised, threatens more, yet it is the wish of every good man here, both in and out of Ministry, to remove the present grievances, and to withhold all further severity. Nothing but imprudence and violence on the part of your present leaders can essentially hurt the Province,—such will certainly do so, because they give grounds and plausible reasons to justify the measures of such amongst us, who mean mischief, and such there are on all sides.

Be not made a cat's-paw, either to those in America, or to those here, whose interest may be served by your ruin. May He who disposes of events, dispose your hearts to what is right for peace. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

T. POWNALL.

The Rev'd Dr. Cooper.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF GOVERNOR POWNALL'S WORKS.

- PRINCIPLES of Polity; being the grounds and reasons of Civil Empire; in three parts. Lond. 1752, 4to.
- Administration of the Colonies; wherein their rights and constitution are discussed and stated. Lond. 1764, 8vo. Between that year and 1768, the 2nd and 3rd, and in 1768, the 4th editions, were published. In 1774, the 5th edition, with additions, was published in 2 vols. 8vo., under the title — “The Administration of the *British Colonies*.”
- Considerations on the Indignity suffered by the Crown, and dishonour brought upon the Nation, by the marriage of H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, with an English subject. 1772, 4to.
- The right, interest, and duty of the State, as concerned in the Affairs of the East Indies. London, 1773, 8vo.
- A Pamphlet on the high price of Bread. 1774, 8vo.
- Letter to Adam Smith, LL. D., and F. R. S., respecting his *Wealth of Nations*. 1776, 4to.
- Drainage and Navigation, but one united work. 1776, 8vo.
- A Topographical description of a Map of the middle British Colonies, etc., in North America. Lond. 1776, fol.
- A Treatise on the study of Antiquities, as the Commentary to Historical Learning, sketching out a general line of research, also making and explaining some of the *desiderata*; with an Appendix on the Elements of Speech, the

Origin of written Language, the Ships and Chariots of the Ancients. Lond. 1782, 8vo.

A Memorial, most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, on the present state of affairs, between the Old and New World. Printed first in 1780, and fourth edition, 1784, pp. 127, 8vo.

A Memorial, in two parts, originally intended to be presented to the King; since published with an explanatory preface. Lond. 1784, pp. 58, 8vo.

A Memorial, addressed to the Sovereigns of America. Lond. printed 1783, and again 1784. pp. 139, 8vo.

The above three Memorials, with a *General Preface*, pp. 20, again published as —

Three Memorials, most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, Great Britain, and North America. By T. Pownall, late Governor, Captain-General, Commander-in-Chief, Vice Admiral, etc., of the Provinces, now States, of Massachusetts Bay, and South Carolina, and Lieutenant Governor of New-Jersey. Lond. 1784, 8vo.

Hydraulic and Nautical observations on the Currents in the Atlantic ocean, forming an hypothetical theorem for investigation; to which are annexed some notes by Dr. Franklin, etc. Lond. 1787, 4to.

Proposals for founding University professorships for Architecture, Painting and Sculpture. 1786.

Notices and Descriptions of the Antiquities of Provincia Romana of Gaul; with dissertations on the subjects, of which there are examples; and an Appendix, describing the Roman Baths and Thermæ discovered in 1784, at Badenweiber. Lond. 1788, 4to. (*Mem.* In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1808, p. 338 et seq., under the head *Literary Intelligence*, is the following,—“Amongst the works of which all the unsold copies were destroyed by fire, and which probably will never be printed, are . . . Governor Pownall's *Provincia Romana*, and *Antiquarian Romance*.”)

An Antiquarian Romance; endeavoring to mark a line by which the most ancient people, and the processions of the earliest inhabitants of Europe may be investigated. Some remarks on Mr. Whitaker's criticisms annexed. 1795, 8vo.

Answer to a Letter on the Jutæ or Viti. 1786.

Descriptions and Explanations of some Remains of Roman Antiquities dug up in the City of Bath in 1790; with an Engraving from drawings made on the spot. Lond. 1795, 4to.

Considerations on the scarcity and high prices of Bread corn and Bread at the markets, suggesting the remedies; in a series of Letters, first published in the *Cambridge Chronicle*. 1795, 8vo.

Character of Sir Robert Walpole, written in 1783, printed among the original papers in Mr. Coxe's *Memoirs of Lord Orford*, with Lord Orford's two letters to Governor Pownall — (republished in Nicols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. pp. 710-712).

Intellectual Physics; an Essay concerning the Nature of Being. 1803, 4to.

Treatise on Old Age:—

Besides several papers published in volumes—II. III. V. VI. VII. VIII. and IX., of the *Archæologia*, of the Society of Antiquarians. The last mentioned volume contains a paper, the title of which creates a suspicion that Governor Pownall was a *Brother of the Mystic tie*. It is—"Observations on the origin and progress of Gothic Architecture, and on the Corporation of *Free-masons*, supposed to be the establishers of it as a regular order."

(Referred to on page 120 in note.)

Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. George Grenville, to Governor Pownall; dated Wotton, July 17th, 1768.

I am very sensible of the honour you do to me, both in this, and in the Address prefixed to the former editions of your treatise upon the Administration of the Colonies; and am much obliged to you for the expressions of your regard and good opinion. You say, very truly, in the beginning of your present Address, that our opinions differed on several points: but we agree intirely in our wishes, that the constitutional powers of this kingdom, and the fixed government of the laws may prevail, and the rights of the people be established upon true political liberty.

As to the great question of our parliament's granting to America a competent number of members to sit in our House of Commons, you are no stranger to the declarations I repeatedly made in the House, at the time when the repeal of the stamp-act was agitated; That, if such an application should be properly made by the Colonies to parliament, in the same manner as those which were made from Chester and Durham, and probably from Wales, it would, in my opinion, be intitled to the most serious and favourable consideration. I continue still in the same sentiments; but *I am much afraid, that neither the people of Great Britain, nor those of America, are sufficiently apprised of the danger which threatens both, from the present state of things, to adopt a measure, to which both the one and the other seem* **INDISPOSED**. Some of the Colonies, in their address to the crown against some late acts of parliament, have, if I mistake not, expressly disdained it; and I do not think it has been kindly received in Great Britain, when it has been thrown out in parliament, or started in any pamphlet or printed paper. The fullest conviction of

its necessity, and the heartiest concurrence, both of the government and of the people, are indispensably necessary to set so great a machine in motion, as that of uniting all the outlying parts of the British dominions into one system.— For my own part, I shall wait the event with concern, and shall be ready to give any assistance I can, whenever I see any practicable road opened to our safety.

(Referred to on page 149.)

Anonymous Letter to the Earl of Chatham, extracted from the 4th volume of the "Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esquire, and Captain John Henry Pringle, Executors of his son, John, Earl of Chatham, and published from the original MSS. in their possession:"—London, Murray, 1840.

"Nov. 14, 1775.

"MY LORD:—My only motive for interrupting your Lordship's retirement is a real anxiety for the public good; and though I have not the honour of being known to your Lordship, yet when I assure you that I am equally below connection with any party, and above dependence upon any, I persuade myself you will indulge the request of a man who has nothing to ask, except a few moments' attention, whilst he expresses a wish, perhaps an idle one, on a subject which at least will not divert your thoughts from their present object.

"That subject, the American dispute, is now arrived at a crisis, which makes all men tremble, many despond. A vast majority of the inhabitants of both countries, I verily believe, are so deeply affected with the fatal prospect now before them, that they passionately long for reconciliation, and would think it cheaply purchased at the expense of large conces-

sions. How to accomplish the wishes of those majorities is the perplexing difficulty. My Lord, the misfortune is, that parties and factions prevail on both sides of the Atlantic. Reconciliation, though an object with all but the very worst men, is but a secondary object to any party. The prevailing one in either country will not accede to terms that either disgrace or dispossess them: the opposition in either country will obstruct all terms which do not insure victory to them. Punctilios, too, party impediments removed, prevent treaty.

“My Lord, when private friends disagree, the same obstacles are apt to occur; the same, too, in the dissensions of foreign powers. In both these cases, how is it that difficulties of every sort are constantly overcome, but by the intervention of a common friend? Suppose, for an instant, that, in the present case, such a character could be found to exist: arduous as his task must be admitted to be, it seems to me far from being impracticable. The governing parties in both countries would not reject terms which neither endangered their emoluments nor infringed upon their honour; and any terms which the governing parties in the two countries would not reject, the power of faction would struggle in vain to obstruct. But prudence forbids the proposal of rejectionable terms; therefore the true sentiments of the prevailing parties in both countries, if unknown, ought previously to be discovered by the common friend. Those sentiments are to be learnt as well from one man of each party, properly chosen, as from many; for your Lordship knows better than I do, that the many govern not themselves; no, not even their opinions.

“Now, I will not think so meanly of the prevailing party either here or in America, as to imagine that there is wanting one man of each description, who would trust a common friend, and might safely be trusted by such an one, in a free communication upon the subject of the admissibility of terms, under the sanction of inviolable secrecy. That common friend, once possessed of this knowledge, could stand in need

of nothing but a head to plan, and a heart to undertake : secrecy still being an indispensable requisite till the instant of execution, to secure the minds of the people from being poisoned with jealousies and suspicions of treachery in the mediator.

“The last difficulty that occurs is, in what region to discover this common friend. Alas! my Lord, Great Britain and America know no foreign power that can assume the name. Some centuries are past since superstition might, perhaps, have sought the mimic of such a character in the see of Rome. At present, as far as I can judge, there is in the universe one only individual qualified to undertake this important office. My Lord, I mean not to flatter you ; I disdain the art ; — but, in my sincere opinion, that individual is your Lordship. The dignity and splendour which surround your name raise you above the level of other men. Neither of the nations has forgotten the great debt they both owe you. Both acknowledge, that, above all men living, you are he who is most deeply interested to preserve the united honour and happiness of the whole empire. Fortunate it is, that your long retirement renders you, in appearance as well as reality, unconnected with the men and the measures, the administrations and the oppositions of either nation, as much as if you were this instant descended from the clouds. This constitutes you, as it were, an independent power, and doubles the confidence which all reposed in you before. Be then, my Lord, the guardian angel of this great empire ; decline not the honourable office of mediator between Great Britain and America ; unite the two countries upon a basis of permanent friendship, without regard to the internal factions of either ; leaving administrations and oppositions undisturbed, to fight, as they have fought before, their little battles upon ground less perilous to this great community.

“Were I addressing a man who could be moved by a love of office or desire of wealth, I am aware that the hazard of failure might deter him from the enterprize, more forcibly

than the prospect of success could urge him to it, gilded as that prospect must appear to any one, who reflects upon the copious streams of bounty which must necessarily flow from the gratitude of two nations. I neither hope nor apprehend any thing from the effect of such considerations on your mind. The world, as well as I, believe you destitute of the passion of fear, as well as of the appetite of gain; but, unless all men are deceived, there is one noble passion, against which your bosom is by no means proof. This is the moment, and God only knows how short it is, that solicits gratification. Lose not the luckiest opportunity that ever befell the most fortunate lover of true glory. The worst that can follow disappointment is that inward satisfaction, which surpasses every thing extrinsic, attended by the silent blessings of millions.

“The consequence of success I will not attempt to describe — for it will prevent calamities, the limits of which no imagination can trace; — it will insure blessings, which none can estimate; — and the happy instrument to accomplish this, will be a private individual, naked of every weapon, whether of war, corruption, or superstition — a character not the less glorious, because it is absolutely unparalleled in the history of the world.

“My Lord, it is with shame I beg your indulgence a minute longer: but I think it proper to inform you that this letter, and the subject of it, is known to one man alone besides myself, and he is bound to secrecy by the same ties that I am. To satisfy you that I have no end to answer beneficial to myself, I not only refrain from subscribing my name, but, whether you treat this letter with consideration, or whether you treat it with contempt, I promise you, upon the word of a gentleman, that I will never divulge my name to you, or the contents of this letter to any other person, without your request. To convince you, at the same time, that I mean nothing prejudicial to any man, I promise you, under the same sanction, that I will disclose myself to your Lordship, if ever you should think fit to require it, by a letter directed to A.

Z., at Oliver's coffee-house, Westminster-hall gate. If your eye reaches this place, I return your Lordship a thousand thanks for your patience, and am, with the truest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
and most faithful servant."

To this letter the Editors of the *Chatham Correspondence* add the following note:—

"By the following note, of the 17th, in the same handwriting, it will be seen that Lord Chatham returned an answer to the above remarkable letter."

"Nov'r 17th, 1775.

"The author of the letter of the 14th was far from intending to trouble again the writer of the note of the 16th, even with the acknowledgments that were due, for the very high, though unmerited honour done to him by that note; but as the mistake of a letter in the direction of it (Q instead of Z) may possibly be recollected, and create a suspicion of its having fallen into wrong hands, he presumes that he will be pardoned the liberty of giving this assurance, that it was received by the person for whom it was intended, and that the injunction of secrecy will be religiously observed. It neither has nor shall be imparted, even to the single friend who was privy to the letter, as the injunction is understood to that extent. The writer of this cannot help adding, that the reception of his sincere endeavours as they were meant, would indeed have made him truly happy, had the account of it not been embittered with more just cause of sorrow. However, he, too, indulges the most sanguine hopes, that the invaluable blessing, which is for the present withheld, will quickly be restored to this country and its friends."

EPITAPH;

(Referred to on page 168.)

Here is entombed Dame HARRIET,
daughter of Lieut't General Churchill;
wife, in her first marriage, to Sir Everard Fawkner, kn't;
in her second, to Governor Pownall.

She died Feb. 6, 1777, aged 51.

Her person was that of animating beauty, with a complexion
of the most exquisite brilliancy, unfaded when she fell.

Her understanding was of such quickness and reach of
thought, that her knowledge, although she had learning, was
instantaneous and original. Her heart, warmed with univer-
sal benevolence to the highest degree of sensibility, had a
ready tear for pity, and glowed with friendship as with a sa-
cred and inviolate fire. Her love, to those who were blessed
with it, was happiness. Her sentiments were correct, refined,
elevated. Her manner so chearful, elegant, amiable, and
winning, that, while she was admired, she was beloved; and,
while she enlightened and enlivened, she was the delight of
the world in which she lived. She was formed for life; she
was prepared for death; which being a gentle wafting to im-
mortality, she lives where life is real.

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P. 186, l. 18, *dele* the " after — Earl!

To the note on p. 112, add, — and Junius says, — "no outward tyranny can reach the mind." — Letter xxvii, v. ii, 16.

To the note on p. 278, add, — In vol. 2, p. 297, Letter LXIV., — "But the question does not lye between rich and poor."

